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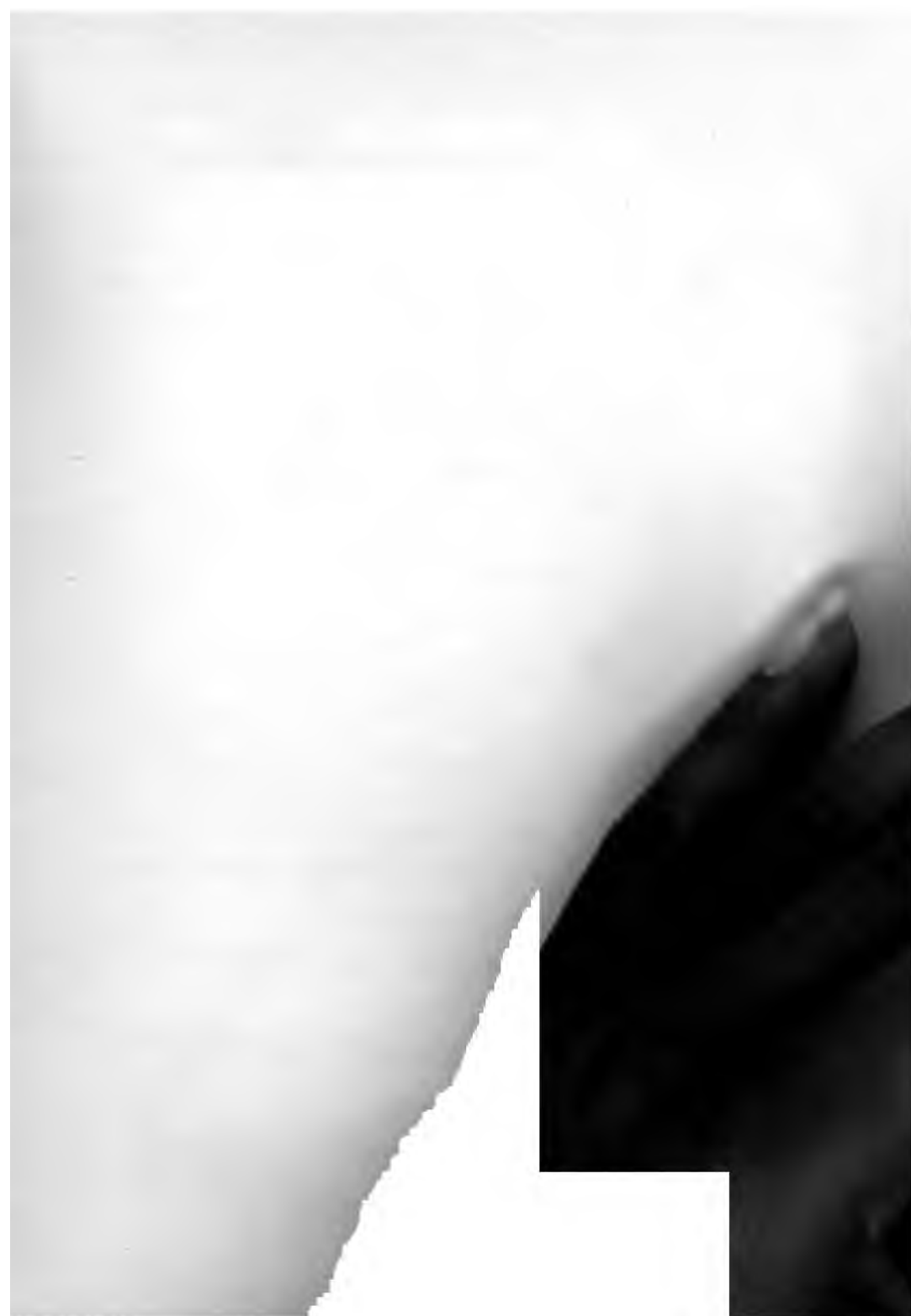
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HUMPHREY CHETHAM;

Photo by J. J. Phelps from the original portrait.

LIFE OF
HUMPHREY CHETHAM

FOUNDER OF THE CHETHAM HOSPITAL AND LIBRARY,
MANCHESTER.

BY THE LATE
FRANCIS ROBERT RAINES, M.A., F.S.A.
VICE-CHANCELLOR AND HON. CLERK OF THE MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

AND
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WITH A GENEALOGY OF THE CHETHAM FAMILY
BY ERNEST AXON.

—
VOL. I.
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HUMPHREY CHETHAM.

Engraving by J. G. Kneller, 1685, after the original portrait.

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PREFACE.

WHEN the first printed catalogue of the Chetham Library was reviewed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1792, the writer expressed his regret that a memoir of the Founder had not been prefixed to the volume, whereupon the Rev. John Radcliffe, author of the catalogue, replied that "little more was known of him than that he lived and that he died," adding that the only satisfactory information he had met with was that given by Fuller in his "*Worthies*." It was left to his immediate successor in the office of Chetham's Librarian, the Rev. John Taylor Allen, to discover fresh particulars of Chetham's career. This was about 1813 or 1814, when he found in the garret of his apartment at the Chetham Library a mass of manuscripts relating chiefly to Chetham's public and business transactions in the years 1635-6 and 1640-49. Mr. Allen devoted much time to the arrangement of the papers, and to making abstracts of them, and he long cherished the intention of writing a memoir of the Founder and his family. He drew up an appeal for further information, and enlisted the services of several friends in the search. Meanwhile he placed the papers at the disposal of Mr. W. R. Whatton, when that industrious antiquary was engaged on his *History of Chetham's Hospital*. That work has been the

main source from which subsequent writers on Humphrey Chetham have drawn their inspiration.

Most of the original documents were arranged by Mr. Allen in folio guard-books, now preserved in the Chetham Library. They are referred to in the following pages as *Chetham MSS.* Some letters and papers belonging to the same collection were retained in Mr. Allen's hands, and these, along with his notes and extracts, and various memoranda by Dr. Fleming and others passed into the possession of Mr. James Crossley on the death of Mr. Allen in 1861. They were recovered from the sale of his library in 1885, and have since been safely lodged in the Chetham Library.

In the First Report of the Chetham Society, issued in 1844, one of the books announced as in progress with a view to publication was *Memorials relating to Humphrey Chetham and his Family*: collected and edited by the Rev. J. T. Allen, M.A. In the following year's Report it was stated that "materials of great interest have unexpectedly presented themselves which will add considerably to the means afforded of rendering the memoirs of the Chetham family full, ample, and satisfactory." The Council acknowledged their obligation to Dr. William Fleming for the manner in which those materials had been made available.

It seems that Dr. Fleming had been allowed to ransack the deed chests of the Clowes family, which contained a great number of papers that came to the

family through the marriage of Samuel Clowes, Esq., with the sister and coheiress of Edward Chetham of Castleton, Esq.

When the Chetham Society was formed Mr. Allen had already left the neighbourhood of Manchester, and it does not appear that, beyond making abstracts of deeds and papers, and jotting down crude notes for future use, he ever made any substantial progress with his projected memoir.

On the retirement of Dr. Fleming from the secretaryship of the Chetham Society in 1853, regret was expressed by Mr. Crossley that the Society had failed in obtaining a promise from him to undertake the life of Humphrey Chetham. The matter was brought forward again in 1854 by the Rev. Thomas Corser, when Canon Raines was urged to engage himself for the work. It was mentioned once more in 1855, and then allowed to rest until 1874, when Mr. Raines said that "a large body of materials had been put into his hands relative to Humphrey Chetham, and they were so voluminous that he was almost embarrassed by the amount of the riches in his possession." He probably alluded in these words to the *Chetham MSS.* already mentioned, as there are few other references to original papers in the *Life* now printed.

Mr. Raines died in 1878, leaving his "Life of Humphrey Chetham" in an imperfect state, and it was not until 1892 that any definite arrangements for its completion and publication were resolved upon. In that year

the late President of the Chetham Society, Mr. R. C. Christie, prevailed upon the present writer, who had recently contributed a sketch of the Founder to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, to undertake the revision and continuation of Canon Raines' work.

It was then found that Mr. Raines' *Life* broke off at the year 1642, and that no notes for any later period had been made by him, or at least had not been preserved, and also that many documents pertaining to anterior dates had been merely alluded to and not transcribed. His references, too, were often obscure and required verification, and, in fact, it was felt absolutely essential to examine afresh the whole of the *Chetham MSS.* and other sources of information.

A short time ago Mr. H. T. Crofton drew the attention of the Editor to certain Chetham papers in the Clowes family muniments, which had been examined by Dr. Fleming some sixty years ago, and had since slumbered undisturbed in the offices of a firm of Solicitors in Manchester, but had recently been transferred to the custody of Mr. Joshua Bury, the agent for the Clowes estates. Through the kindness of Mr. Bury permission was obtained from Captain Clowes to rummage among a dozen boxes of dusty papers, and the search has yielded several interesting pieces of information which have been of service, and especially in the compilation of the genealogy of the Chetham family.

For permission to explore the papers in the Chetham

Library, to see the early minute books of the Hospital and Library, and to copy the Founder's will and other documents, the editor has to acknowledge his indebtedness to the Governors of Chetham's Hospital, and to Mr. Henry Taylor, their Solicitor. The editor's labours have also been lightened by the courtesies of Mr. W. T. Browne, House Governor of the Hospital.

Acknowledgments are gladly made to Mr. J. J. Phelps for the portrait of Chetham, which he photographed with great skill from the original painting in the Reading Room at the Chetham Library; also to Mr. Wm. Ellis, of Longsight, for kindly supplying the photographs from which the other illustrations to the volume are taken.

In addition to the gentlemen already named, to whom the editor's warm thanks are due, he has particular pleasure in acknowledging his obligations to his friend and colleague Mr. Ernest Axon, for suggestions during the printing of the book, but above all for his Genealogy of the Chetham family, which is given as an Appendix, and forms a most valuable portion of the present contribution to the publications of the Chetham Society.

CHARLES W. SUTTON.

ERRATA.

Page 10, line 6 from bottom, *for* "fyer" *read* "hyer."

Page 10, line 13, *for* "1597" *read* "1598". A copy of the apprentice ship indenture is among the Clowes family deeds, with the date "second day of October in the fortyth year of the reigne of Elizabeth."

Page 103, line 13 from bottom, *for* "hulme" *read* "Hulme," *i.e.* Randle Holme, the Herald.

Page 141, line 6, *omit* "W." before "Robert Massey."

Page 290, line 5 from bottom, *for* "Mr." *read* "Mrs."

Page 309, line 5, *for* "Edward" *read* "Edmund."

Page 342, No. 191, *for* "Lyons" *read* "Lyon."

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Life of Humphrey Chetham.

CHAPTER I.

IT cannot be said of our generation, as Tacitus said of his, that we are *ætas incuriosa suorum*. We are not only desirous of knowing something of our contemporaries, but also of investigating the lives of those who have distinguished themselves in past times; and although the materials of biography may be scanty, and conversations, diaries, and personal reminiscences may be wanting, we are glad to obtain scattered parts, trivial incidents and small traits of character which lead us slowly to arrive at the opinions and proceedings of those, who whilst living, made posterity their debtors. From the muniment-room of the Chetham Library much that is recorded in the following pages has been derived.

On the north of Manchester lies a township called Cheetham, parcel of the barony of Manchester, held in the time of King John by Henry de Chetham. Robert de Middleton had held the same of the King in thanage, and by the payment of an annual rent of one mark¹ (13s. 4d.), and when the *Testa de Nevile* was compiled the land belonged to Henry de Chetham, son of Sir Geoffrey, and was held of Robert and his heirs.² There are seven notices of Geoffrey de Chetham, all dated, from Fines made at Nottingham, between 29th Sept., 1234, and the 23rd June, 1260,³ but his connection with Middleton, if any existed, is

¹ Baines *Lancashire*, vol. ii., p. 594.

² *Testa de Nevile*, p. 405.

³ *Pat. Finium*, Lanc. H., vol. iii., No. 98. Cf. *Final Concords*, Ed. by W. Farrer, pp. 74, 91.

not named. How the manor passed from the Chethams has not been discovered; but on the 20th Jan., 1278, Geoffrey de Chaderton held an estate in Cheetham which he had received from his father, Richard de Trafford.¹ Roger de Middleton appears in 1282 as mesne lord of Cheetham, which he held of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, by the yearly service of 13s. 4d.²

The Pilkingtons of Pilkington obtained their interest in the manor of Bury and its members by marriage with Alicia, daughter of Adam de Bury.³ On the 13th Oct., 1319, Roger de Pilkington and Margery his wife levied a fine at York of one third of the manor of Pilkington, one third of the manor of Cheetham, one sixth of the manor of Barton, and one seventh of the manor of Crompton, to the use of the said Roger and Margery, and the heirs male of their bodies, remainder to the right heirs of Roger. From this time the manor of Bury continued to be held by the Pilkingtons of the King, as Duke of Lancaster, by the annual rent of one mark, and for one tenth of a knight's fee. It was confiscated by the attainder of Sir Thomas Pilkington after the battle of Bosworth, and was granted by Henry VII. to his step-father, Thomas, first Earl of Derby, K.G., and is still the inheritance of his representative.

The site of the old manor house at Cheetham was described by Barritt the antiquary in the eighteenth century. A younger son of Chetham of Cheetham held lands at Nuthurst in the township of Moston, of the manor of Pilkington, of the lords of that name who held the same as parcel of the barony of Manchester. John de Chetham of Nuthurst was fined xii^d for a trespass on the 13th Aug., 1319⁴, and again on the 7th Dec., 1323,⁵ and on the 11th Jannury, 1333, he was summoned "de exitibus foris facture terrarum et tenementorum."⁶ On the 3rd Aug., 1355, he was

¹ Farrer's *Final Concords*, Record Society, vol. xxxix., p. 153.

² Harland's *Mamecestre*, vol. i., p. 673.

³ Col. John Pilkington's *Hist. of Fam. of Pilkington*, 1894.

⁴ *Fed. Fin.*, Lanc. Edw. 2., No. 106.

⁵ *Assis. Rolls*, Lanc., No. 425.

⁶ *Assis. Rolls*, Lanc., No. 428.

“manucaptor” of Robert de Hayward;¹ and on the 17th May, 1360, he was a juror at the Sheriff’s turn of Salfordshire, held at Manchester, on the Monday before the day of Pentecost, 34 Edw. III. (1360).² The family continued at Nuthurst in the rank of gentry until toward the end of the 17th century, when their estates passed by sale to another branch of the family which had become enriched by commercial pursuits. The Nuthurst Chethams do not seem to have been famous either in war or peace. They had no soldiers, statesmen, or ecclesiastics of note to grace their story, and whilst they were sometimes in the commission of the peace, bore coat armour, and married amongst some of the old families of the county, they lived obscurely and contentedly on their ancient patrimonial estate, and the head of each generation left it very much as he found it.

Crumpsall was formerly a hamlet in the township of Cheetham and adjacent to Nuthurst. At an early period it belonged to the family of Prestwich of Hulme, who do not appear at any time to have resided within its limits. The first time the Chethams occur as of this place is on the marriage of Nicholas, son and heir of Ellis Prestwich, Esq., with Margaret, daughter of Sir John Trafford of Trafford, Kt. The principal tenants who “attorned” on the settlement made on this occasion, on the 3rd September, 1479, were Edward Chetham and Ralph his son, who held lands in Crumpsall.³ Edward Chetham of Crumpsall occurs in the year 1500, and by computation was born in 1435, and his son Ralph in 1458, whose son Edward lived at Crumpsall in 1520, and died there 29 Hen. VIII.¹ (1537). He was merely a tenant of the Prestwich family, and such his descendants continued to be until the purchase of the Crumpsall property from the Prestwiches in 1622.

It appears by an indenture dated October 24, 1571, and made between John Chetham of Nuthurst, gent., and Henry Adamson of Mylnegate in Manchester, that on the 8 Oct., 29 Henry VIII.⁴

¹ *Assis. Rolls*, No. 439. ² *Assis. Rolls*, Lanc., No. 436.

³ *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxv. ⁴ Nuthurst Evid.

(1537), William Mylnegate of Hallyngton, demised to "Edward Chetham late of Crumpsall in Manchester, deceased," tenements with gardens and appurtenances in Manchester, for the term of fourscore years, paying a rent of x^s a year, the residue of the said term having been demised by the said Edward Chetham to Robert Chetham (his son) except one dwelling which he had previously granted to Henry Chetham (apparently his grandson), and that the said Robert before his death had sold his interest in the premises to John Chetham of Nuthurst, who at the date of the indenture sold and conveyed the same to Henry Adamson.¹ In 1545, Edward Chetham held the tithe corn of Crumpsall not by lease but as a tenant at will of the Warden and Fellows of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, paying annually ci^s vi^d.² The estate of Crumpsall was comparatively small, and the remains of the house in Barritt's time were also small, built of timber and plaster, and plain within and without, and retaining no marks of having been a gentleman's residence.³ It continued to be occupied by the heads of the family for three or four generations. In 1541, Edward Chetham, who is styled a "merchant," settled the residue of his interest in his lease of Crumpsall on his eldest son James Chetham, who proved himself a thrifty and provident man, and who acquired by purchase in 1548 lands at Kersal and elsewhere, which he fondly settled on his "son and heir James Chetham and his heirs for ever." The "for ever" has long since died out, and the body of the old man, like his forgotten joys and sorrows, has passed into the holy dust of Manchester Church. "The one bushell of good barley" which he left annually, for ten years, to the "poore howsholders wythin this parrish of Manchester," at or before the feast of Easter, six shillings and eightpence "unto the reparasions of Manchester Church," and to the mending of Chetham Lane

¹ Nuthurst Evid.

² *Hist. of Lanc. Chantry*, by Raines, p. 18.

³ The old house was taken down in 1825. A sketch of the last remnant of the Hall is preserved in Booker's *History of Blackley*, p. 216.



From N. G. Phillips's "Views," 1822.

CRUMPSALL HALL

forty shillings, are evidence that the Chethams were benevolent even before the days of the Founder.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Henry Chetham, who was aged twenty-eight years at his father's death in 1571. Henry Chetham was engaged in trade and was a prosperous man. He married Jane, daughter of Robert Wroe, gent., of Heaton Gate, in the parish of Prestwich. Her father was dead, and her mother, by the advice of her friend or relative Mr. Roger Wrigley, Incumbent of Oldham, settled property upon her daughter, and advanced £100, named in the marriage covenant, dated July 15, 1567, to James Chetham the father, who in his turn settled an annuity upon his son's wife.

Some of the covenants in the marriage settlement sound oddly to us, when we consider that the bridegroom had arrived at years of discretion, being twenty-four years old, and as his subsequent life proved, a prudent and sensible man. He and his young wife were to live at Crumpsall with his parents, who were to find them with "sufficient and convenient meat, drink, and lodging, suitable for their age, quality, and degree;" if they were dissatisfied, they had the option of living at Kersal Hall, and of receiving xiii^s iv^d a year from the father. As long as they remained at Crumpsall with him "and at his finding, and do worke and laboure in his affaires and busynes," he will pay them xl^s a year "for their spending money and necessaries, if it be lawfully asked and demanded." "In the tyme of his last breathe," he covenanted that his son should take "the fourth part" of the personalty at Crumpsall which he (the father) "had a right unto." The son seems to have remained with his father, as all his children, and he had six sons and four daughters, were born at Crumpsall. Henry Chetham added to his Kersal property left him by his father by purchasing lands there. By deed, dated August 30, 1595, he made a provision for the maintenance and education of his younger children, who were at that time minors, and for that purpose placed £200 in the hands of his son and heir James, who is therein described as living in Salford, and a

"clothier." Out of the sum named, George, Simon, Humphrey, Ralph, and Alice, his children, were each to receive £4 a year, and £40 was to be paid to each child on the attainment of twenty-one years, with benefit of survivorship. He survived this settlement several years, and his will is dated March 6th, 1602-3, and was proved on the 10th May in the same year. His widow continued to live at Crumpsall with her younger children, and on the 16 May, 1603, her son James settled xls a year upon her for life, and acknowledged that he held £80 (part of the £200) for his brother Ralph and sister Alice when of age.

The widow of Henry Chetham made her will on the 19th August, 1616, and was buried near her husband on the 27th Oct. in the same year. She lived to see all her children settled in life. They had been trained to a life of industry, and had received the ordinary education of the sons of a mercantile man of moderate means, at the Grammar School, Manchester, and were kept there beyond the usual period. The whole family seem to have been prosperous and the children were examples of the results of good home training. James, the eldest son, was not bound apprentice to a trade until he was eighteen years of age, and afterwards settled as a "merchant" in Salford. On the 24 November, 1599, Mr. Prestwich renewed the old lease of the Crumpsall farm to him for twenty-one years, and on its expiration he purchased the freehold of inheritance of Edmund Prestwich of Hulme, Esq., for the sum of £350. He married twice, and had children by both his wives. In 1620, he was styled "of Crumpsall, gent.," and then filled the office of High Constable of the Hundred of Salford.¹ He died an old man.

Edmund, sometimes called Edward, the second son, went from the Grammar School to Oxford, and was admitted of Corpus Christi College, being M.A.² He was a young man of more than common education. He could hardly be less than a bright youth

¹ *Manchester Sessions*, ed. by E. Axon, vol. i. p. 112, 114. (Rec. Soc.)

² Not in Foster's *Alum. Oxon.*, nor in Clark's *Reg. of Univ. of Oxford*, nor in Fowler's *Hist. of Corpus Christi College*.

in that age of ripe scholars and hard students to have distinguished himself at the university, and afterwards not only to be appointed the High Master of the School and the successor of his old Archi-Didascalus Dr. Cogan, but also to enjoy the intimate friendship whilst in that office of the profound scholar Dr. Dee, the Warden of Manchester, to whom he lent money, and received valuable plate in pledge for it.¹ Dr. Dee was opposed to the puritans, and was of the court party. We know too little of the attainments of this young man, who, it may be named, wrote a neat, exact, and scholar-like hand, and always spelt his name *Chetam*. He names Dr. Dee in his will, which is dated 28 December, 1602.² He died at the early age of 31, neither in holy orders nor married. Had he been a martyr to study, or of a delicate constitution?

George, another son of Henry Chetham, was bound apprentice in his sixteenth year to Mr. George Tipping, of Manchester, a wealthy linen draper and general merchant. The indenture is dated June 27, 1591. He settled afterwards in London, and subsequently acquired great wealth. He was a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company and a citizen of London. He was a wholesale mercer, or, as he is sometimes called, a "grocer," in one of the busy streets of the city, and the family being united, first one brother and then another invested his fortune in the concern which proved to be helpful to each, and in the end the making of them all. His favourite brother and the partner of his commercial pursuits was Humphrey, and there can be little doubt that in the disposal of his wealth and in his charitable foundations, Humphrey Chetham had regard to the extensive charities and benefactions recorded in the will of the brother, to whose large estates he succeeded. George Chetham married a Chetham of the Nuthurst family, but died in London in the year 1626, without issue, at the age of fifty. Of the other sons of

¹ See some further particulars of this transaction in J. E. Bailey's *Diary of Dr. John Dee*, 1880, p. 85.

² Will missing. Abstract in *Lanc. and Ches. Wills*, Chet. Soc., N. S. 3, p. 207.

Henry Chetham, Simon died young and a bachelor, and Ralph, the youngest, followed the same "Manchester trade" as his brothers. He appears to have had weavers employed in Manchester, and to have sold his wares not only in that town but also in London. He died suddenly at St. Albans in the year 1630, whilst on his way from London, and left a widow and several children.

CHAPTER II.

HUMPHREY CHETHAM, the fifth son of Henry Chetham, of Crumpsall Hall, gent., and of his wife, Jane, daughter of Mr. Robert Wroe, of Heaton Gate, was born in the year 1580, being baptised at the Collegiate Church of Manchester, on the 10th day of July in that year. As his father was a man of some cultivation, wrote a small, neat, and legible hand, indicating the practised scribe, at a time when some of his wealthy neighbours were marksmen, the probability is that he had been educated at the neighbouring Grammar School of Manchester, founded in the time of his grandfather; and there Humphrey and his brothers received their instruction whilst Dr. Thomas Cogan¹ was the learned High Master. It is allowable to infer that they were of the old Lancashire type, still to be found in the outside places of the county, keen-witted and thoughtful, much given to reading, and especially addicted to theology; at least Bishop Hugh Oldham, himself a Manchester man, so described the Lancashire youth in the beginning of the century, and the description was drawn from personal knowledge and observation.

Humphrey Chetham, when a boy, walked daily from Crumpsall, as his nephews, and at least one great nephew, afterwards did, to Manchester Grammar School, to be trained in good learning and good morals. And his couple of miles walk in the Elizabethan days, would be through sylvan lanes and quiet retired paths, with his satchel and shining morning face. As a tradesman's lad he was dressed shabbily, in a long woollen frock, fastened by a girdle round his waist, and not wearing a cap, just

¹ A memoir of this schoolmaster, physician, and author, was contributed by Mr. J. E. Bailey to the *Palatine Note Book*, vol. iii. p. 77.

as his own charity boys were afterwards apparelled. He continued apparently at School until he was seventeen years old, and the instructions and habits of his education could hardly fail to predispose him to piety. His careful school training—being warned, encouraged and flogged, according to the custom of the age—prepared the way for that higher education which every man must give himself, and which is chiefly learnt in the world. The time came when his back had to be turned towards the school and his face towards a busy world; and alas! the old schoolroom in which he was taught is gone, and the old desks and forms known to him, are no longer visible. He was destined, like two of his elder brothers, for commercial pursuits, and on the 2nd October, 1597, he was bound apprentice, as “Humphrey Son of Henry Chetham of Crumpsall Gent” to Samuel Tipping of Manchester linen draper.

It is worthy of note that being now in his eighteenth year he covenanted to “dwell abide and continue” with his master as a “servant or apprentice” for seven years. He was required to be a paragon of perfection, and stipulated after the fashion of the times not “to hurt his master to the value of twelve pence by the year,” to avoid sundry temptations which are minutely described and not to “depart from his master’s service either by night or day.” No premium or apprentice fee seems to have been paid to Mr. Tipping, at that time a very wealthy and influential man, but he covenanted to find his apprentice “honest meat and drynke, clothe and lodgyng, hossen, shoes, lynen and wool-len, meet and convenient for his estate and degree, during the said term,” in return for his services, and also to pay him *four pence* a year, upon the feast day of S. Michael the Archangel, if it be lawfully demanded, “for his fyer and wages.” The pecuniary grant seems to have been nominal or ridiculously small, and may have been designed to teach him frugality, and he might in after life, if not in his eighteenth year, feel thankful, like Sir Thomas More, that he had in his youth been “taught good husbandry and preserved from dissipation.”

Humphrey now set about learning what his contemporary Sir Thomas Gresham, himself of the craft, called "the mysterye of the merserye," and took his place behind a counter. His master was at this time an elderly bachelor, the second of three brothers, all engaged in trade, all business men, and laying the foundation of a family still opulent and respected. The watchful care of Mr. Tipping and the religious example of the household compensated for the loss of the young apprentice's paternal home and was the beginning of his prosperity. The year before his long term of apprenticeship expired his father died at a good old age, and his brother James paid him the £40 which his father had left him. He was one of the executors of his mother's will, and managed her affairs, probably a proof of the confidence reposed in his integrity, both by his mother and other members of his family. It is also worthy of notice that he remained in the service of Samuel Tipping until the end of the year 1604; nor is it improbable that his master, being gifted with perception of character, had marked the steady habits, good sense and conscientiousness of his apprentice and retained him beyond the ordinary term of servitude.

Intimate relations had subsisted between the Tippings and Chethams of Crumpsall. James, the eldest brother of Humphrey, had formerly been Samuel Tipping's apprentice, and afterwards married for his second wife a young and well-dowered widow, who had already buried two husbands, one of whom, John Tipping, was the eldest brother of Samuel, whilst George, the second son of Henry Chetham, had been apprenticed to George Tipping of Manchester "grosser and linen draper," the younger brother of Samuel.¹ This description of "grosser" probably meaning that he dealt in goods by wholesale as well as by retail. We may perhaps infer that whilst with Mr. Tipping his early lessons at the Grammar School were not forgotten, and

¹ George Tipping and George Chetham subsequently became partners in business. The deed of partnership, which was executed on 4th January, 1609-10, is printed in the *Palatine Note Book*, vol. i. p. 127.

that he sometimes turned to his books, the companions of his boyhood, and his delight in after years, and that he kept up his love of literature, whilst mercantile pursuits were not distasteful to him. There is one speciality, attributed to him in a subsequent period of his life, which he had doubtless found useful as an apprentice—a great exactness in figures. And it is too obvious to be overlooked, that his mercantile and other accounts, are kept with singular precision and accuracy. The smallest sum, or fraction of a sum, is noted down and accounted for with great caution and exemplary method. Whether he had an inherent faculty for calculations does not appear; but quickness in this department of education, as well as the old English spirit of adventure and perseverance, almost ensured the acquisition, and it may perhaps be concluded, the retaining of wealth. On quitting Mr. Tipping's service the original deed of indenture of apprenticeship was given up to him, and is still preserved, all its conditions having been fulfilled, and in long after years his old master's name occurs in connection with his affairs.

If we follow the track of the good apprentice we shall find him still the same. Leaving Manchester about the beginning of the year 1605, we find him living with his brother George Chetham in London, and about this time the two brothers entered into partnership. George was a "citizen and grocer" and had acquired some property, whilst, as far as can be discovered, Humphrey had at that time little more than the £40 left him by his father, and with this sum he began his mercantile career. The affection and confidence reposed in each other by the two brothers were cordial, and there is nothing to show that they were ever interrupted. It seems to have been found necessary that whilst George lived in London Humphrey should reside in Manchester. The latter accordingly left the busy city and settled in the country town, and there or in the neighbourhood he willingly dwelt during the remainder of his life.

In 1616, Humphrey Chetham lost his kinsman Ralph, an aged man, who had held lands at Crumpsall on lease from the Prest-

wich family, and was moderately well off. He desired to be buried "in decent soil within the Parish Church of Manchester," and appointed his "cozen" Humphrey his sole executor, and had special regard to his godson, Ralph the younger, who along with Humphrey, he made his residuary legatees. He seems to have had a great regard for the whole of the family at Hulme, and bequeathed legacies, to "the Right Hon. Edmund Prestwich of Hulme Esq. my good landlord and Master," to "my mistress his wyfe," and to "mine ould mistresse his Mother," and also to Ralph, Ellis, John, and Thomas Prestwich, his sons.

Manchester in the time of James the First supplied him with "friezes, fustians, coattons, and haberdasherye," and whilst he bought these goods in large quantities for the London market he also sold them in retail in Manchester. It has often been said that he was simply a dealer in "fustians," a sort of cloth made of linen warps obtained from Ireland, woven in the loom and afterwards cut so as to raise the pile, and this rough material was used as the common apparel of labouring men; but there is sufficient proof that the brothers were what are called general merchants, and dealt in a great variety of articles both linen and woollen. Camden in 1590 names Manchester, and observes "the glorie of its woollen cloths which they call Manchester Cottons." But Humphrey Chetham not only dealt in these but also in "Black Flanders Serge, "Black Turkey Grogam." Nor did Humphrey purchase his "Fustians" alone at Bolton, although his high and honourable dealings in that market were publicly known and long remembered. His mercantile dealings as far as we are able to compare them with those of the Mosleys, Wrigleys, and Johnsons, were on a large scale, and probably not inferior to those of the Tippings, but there is nothing to show that the brothers exported their mercantile wares, but that they confined themselves to the home trade and principally to the London market. They never embarked in any new branch of industry, but merely carried out on a large scale the trade of the district. They made no discoveries, enjoyed no monopolies,¹

¹ Trade monopolies were abolished by statute, 1623.

mastered no doubtful business problems, and made no experiments. By quiet perseverance and unremitting labour they acquired in a comparatively brief period considerable wealth. Humphrey Chetham was a manufacturer in the literal sense of the word, employing men who made things by the hand, there being no steam engines, and every fabric being made by hand-weaving and looms. John Clough of Ashton, Samuel Wild of Hollinwood, James Boardman of Manchester, Oliver Taylor of Eccles, and others, were all employed by Humphrey Chetham in weaving "linen clooth" and "preparing fustians," whilst Richard Heywood of Little Lever, chapman (the father of the venerable Oliver Heywood the nonconformist minister), had extensive dealings in fustians with him during several years. Nor was he only a manufacturer and general dealer, but he and other members of his family dealt largely in yarn, and employed spinners in their own houses, and sometimes he seems to have supplied others with yarn ready dyed which they wove. The accounts of the brothers are exact and minute, and would have been called by the memorable John Hales of Eton "superstitiously methodical." They at least indicate active habits and a thorough knowledge of business, combined with high and upright principle.

It appears that in 1619, on the expiration of the specified term, the two brothers entered into a new deed of partnership. On the 1st January in that year they made a settlement of their joint property, and it stated in the deed that "George Chetham of London citizen and grocer," and "Humphrey Chetham of Manchester chapman," being natural brothers had been "for divers years past, and at that time were, co-partners in the trade of buying and selling fustians and other wares and merchandizes," and that they had a joint stock of about £10,000, each being the owner of a moiety.¹ It was agreed that George should

¹ Copies of deeds of partnership between George and Humphrey Chetham, dated 24 October, 1614, and 1 January, 1619, are among the Clowes family papers, now (1902) in the custody of Mr. Joshua Bury, Manchester.

manage "the factory and business of the joint trade in and about the city of London," and that Humphrey should manage "the factory and business" in and about Manchester, and any other place and places in England, and that the profits should be for the equal benefit of both the brothers. Each should keep books open to the inspection of the other, and in December every year an account should be rendered by each. All business transacted in London was to be done in the name of George alone, and all elsewhere in the name of Humphrey alone. The term of partnership was to be continued for three years only, and the first settlement was to take place in their then house of business in St. Michael's Bassishaw, within the city of London. Here in the centre of trade, intelligence, and fashion, George Chetham had his permanent place of residence, and seems to have been on intimate terms of friendship with Dr. Giffard, the Rector of the Parish, and with the higher class of the parishioners.

It is worthy of notice that George and Humphrey alone were associated as partners. James, the eldest brother, and afterwards his clever son George, Ralph Chetham, and even some of the females of the family were separate traders, probably on Humphrey's principle that "multitudes do often make a jar in business." It is a pleasant feature in his character and deserves to be recorded that he employed many of his relatives and connections in the management of his business. His brother-in-law Daniel Travis occurs year after year as a cashier. George, the son of Daniel, was at one time a principal and confidential warehouse manager, and afterwards his uncle's secretary. Calvin Rothwell, who married the widow of Ralph Chetham, received a yearly wage of £15 as a clerk, and his child Edward Rothwell was taken and provided for by his old master. Mr. Edward Croston of Accrington, probably in the law, was consulted constantly by his uncle on the value of land, on titles, and on conveyances, after the death of old John Dawson, a long valued legal friend, and other relatives might be found in his establishment. The master must have been considerate, forbearing, and

sympathising, to retain some of these men in his service for more, at least, than twenty years, and they could hardly fail to have been models of fidelity and attachment. At all events the work was done to the satisfaction of the master, and there could have been no great wrong on either side. Humphrey Chetham probably improved and encouraged his servants, and he was not perpetually losing and changing them.

CHAPTER III.

THE Brothers renewed their partnership at a juncture when trade was in a very unsatisfactory state, which may perhaps account for the limited term of the agreement. People were out of work, and there were great complaints. The Lords of the Council sent forth letters into various counties for setting the poor to work,¹ and merchants were enjoined to buy cloth and other fabrics weekly at Blackwall Hall, London, or to lose the freedom of the city,² although they could not sell their goods, owing to the scarcity of money, when they had bought them. Spindles and looms had been increasing, but the demand was held in check owing to bad trade, and the manufacturers were no better circumstanced than the merchants. Shakespeare well described the state of commerce and popular feeling as they existed in the latter part of his life, although the description was applicable to a somewhat earlier period :—

. upon these taxations
The clothiers all, not able to maintain
The many to them 'longing, have put off
The spinsters, carders, fullers, weavers, who
Unfit for other life, compell'd by hunger
And lack of other means, in desperate manner
Daring the event to the teeth, are all in uproar
And danger serves among them.—*Hen. VIII. Act 1 Sc. 2.*

¹ Walter Yonge's *Diary*, Camden Soc., p. 52.

² *Ibid.*

The two brothers do not appear to have extended or enlarged their mercantile concerns, but rather to have reduced them, and from this time invested much of their capital in the purchase of land, and by this means advanced their own interests and power in the country, which Lord Bacon said was "the lowest type of ambition," but his two loyal and intelligent contemporaries would agree with him, "who had neglected the true ambition of a fine genius,"¹ that to increase the power and influence of the country was the highest and noblest ambition of all. One of their first and largest purchases was Clayton Hall with the park and manor, an ancient seat of the Byron family in the parish of Manchester. In the beginning of the 17th century the pecuniary embarrassments of the head of the house was so heavy that he was obliged to part with a considerable portion of his Lancashire estates. The Earl of Shrewsbury writing to Sir John Byron from Broad Street, London, on the 1st May, 1603, and condoling with him on the death of his father, observed "The estate of that which is left you is good and great, but withall, I take it you are in great debttts, and have many chyldren to provyde for . . . I doe therefore advise you . . . to dispose and disperse that great household, reducing them to the number of fortye or fyftie . . . It will be far better for you to lyve for a tyme in Lancashire rather than in Notting'shire." He further urges him to get Sir John Harper, M. P., to arrange his estate.²

The advice was partly acted upon, and in the year 1608, scores of farms and houses chiefly in the township of Butterworth in the parish of Rochdale, which had been the inheritance of the family from the time of Edward I., fell to the hammer.³ The property passed to a substantial class of yeomen whose ancestors had long been husbandmen and tenants of the Byrons, although the Chadertons and Chethams, both of Nuthurst, who were not such, were buyers. Humphrey Chetham—cautious and cool—

¹ Hume's *Hist. Engl.*, vol. vi. p. 604.

² Lodge's *Illustr.*, vol. iii. p. 156.

³ *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. vi., where abstracts of the leases are recorded.

was biding his time. On the 20 February, 1620-1, George Chetham of London, "Grocer," and Humphrey Chetham of Manchester, "chapman," purchased in fee simple of Sir John Byron the elder of Newstead Abbey in the county of Notts., knt., Sir John Byron the younger of Clayton in the co. of Lancaster, knt., his son and heir apparent, and of Dame Anne, eldest daughter of Sir Richard Molineux of Sefton, knt., wife of Sir John Byron the younger, the capital manor house of Clayton, commonly called Clayton Hall, with the park and impaled ground known as Clayton Park, with the milne messuages and lands in Failsworth, Droylsden, Manchester, Ashton, and Woodhouses, together with a private Chapel annexed to the same in the Collegiate Church of Manchester (this latter clause afterwards omitted), Dame Ann releasing her claim to £300 a year, settled on Clayton and Newstead, and Nicholas, second son of Sir John the elder, also releasing his claim to £100, and Sir William Norris of Speke, kt., and Alexander Standish of Standish, Esq. (trustees), also releasing £500 charged on the estate as fortunes for the daughters, and the annual rental is stated to be no more than £240 a year in the marriage settlement of Sir John Byron, jun., 3 March, 1599. The extent of the land amounted to upwards of 340 acres, seven yards to the perch, and the consideration was £4700, land having fallen in this year (1621) from twenty years purchase to sixteen and seventeen, and the farmers everywhere murmuring at the low prices which prevailed.¹ Sir John Byron held his last court for the free manor of Clayton with view of frank pledge, 20th Nov., 1604. It may be named that Humphrey's old master, Samuel Tipping, was one of the attestors, along with Mr. Edward Tacey, M. A., Chaplain of the Collegiate Church, to Mr. John Dawson the attorney, taking possession and delivering seizin to the purchasers. Many years afterwards a question was raised as to the legal right of the Byrons to convey certain valuable portions of

¹ Walter Yonge's *Diary*, p. 17.

the enclosed demesne in the park, which became a source of much unhappiness to Humphrey Chetham, and disturbed the peace of his latter days.¹

Clayton Hall appears to have been occupied at the time of the sale by the eldest son of the family, and from descriptions in the conveyance and in inventories, we conclude that the house was spacious, with a moat around it, a private chapel, square courts, a gate tower, ancient timber, a deer park, and all the appendages of a knightly residence, requiring perhaps no little outlay, when Humphrey Chetham took up his abode at the hall. Some parts of the building were of timber and plaster, constantly needing repair, and the more modern parts were of stone,

¹ The following case and opinion of counsel on the inclosure of Droylsden Moss is found in the *Chetham MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 223 (Chetham Library) :—

S^r John Byron at his will and pleasure did at divers tymes inclose part of Droylsden Mosse in severall inclosures when and so often as he saw good cause, or as the Turbary was gotte of the Moore :

Mr. Chetham having now purchased Droylesden Mosse, hath the same right to inclose the same that S^r John Byron not wth standing any words in Hibbert's conveyance.

He like wyse by his bayliffe did drive the catell of the More and would not suffer them to have comon of pasture.

Mr. Chetham hath that lawfull right to drive the More or Mosse as S^r John Byron had.

S^r John Byron granted unto me all his tythe right and interest of the same more or mosse, whereby I conceive I have power to drive or impound the Cattell or beast as trespassers on the moore or mosse and to inclose att my will and pleasure.

Mr. Chetham hath the same power to both inclose and drive the mosse as S^r John Byron had.

But the inhabitants of Droylsden that were then his tenants, and have now bought their tenements say I cannot inclose, because they being form^r purchas^{rs} they have a word in their deeds that gives them comon of pasture, to witt (feeding) neither (say they) can I drive their cattell.

Unlesse the tenants that have formerly purchased before Mr. Chetham purchased have other words than only (feedings) that will not hinder Mr. Chetham therein for feedings are only such as belong to their tenem^{ts}.

Downes vjth Janij 1636.



From Photograph taken in 1882.

CLAYTON HALL.

weather-worn by the storms of not less than two centuries, and doubtless ingrained with various tinted mosses and lichens. It was roofed according to the Lancashire fashion with heavy flag stones, which alone could withstand the tempests and hurricanes of such a mountainous district. The pasture fields were small, rugged, and apparently only half enclosed, and the grain grown upon the estate must have been of the coarsest description. The park and demesne were impaled, and under cultivation.¹

On the 24th March, 1625, Humphrey Chetham described as "of Clayton Gent," conveyed by sale to his brother George certain stock, grain, hay, furniture, linen, carpets, pewter, wooden ware, &c., remaining in and about the Hall, which seems to have been his share of the household and other effects which had belonged to Sir John Byron, and taken by the Chethams at a valuation. Humphrey received from his brother £357 10s. 0d., and amongst the live stock were "109 beasts and cattell of sev'all sortes, 12 horses, mares and coltes, and 6 swyne;" oats and barley, remaining in two barns at Clayton, &c., and a variety of other things are specified in the schedule.

In the following year the brothers settled their joint real estate of Clayton, and it was agreed that the survivor of them should take the whole in fee. George was at this time in his forty-ninth year; he had been married at least five and twenty years, and had no issue, and his brother Humphrey was a bachelor and had attained his forty-fifth year. The settlement of the 13th May, 1625, was never afterwards disturbed, and Humphrey Chetham, on the death of his brother, became the sole owner of the Clayton Hall estate. Both the brothers were living here at this time, and on the 26th May, 1626, George entered into a bond of £2000 to his brother Humphrey to abide the award of Adam Smith of Chorlton Roe, Gent., and Adam Holland, of Newton, Gent., concerning all mercantile debts, accounts, reckonings, sums of money, claims and demands, and the award to be made on or before the 10th June of the same year.

¹ See note on pp. 27-29.

This was the final settlement of the partnership, and the great commercial prosperity had not proved injurious to either of the brothers. There was all along mutual confidence, and no difference of opinion ever seems to have existed. Having ascertained the state of his finances, George Chetham proceeded to settle his temporal estate. His will, which is a most interesting one, is dated June 29th, 1626, and he was at that time living at Clayton Hall, although he had a house in London.¹ He states in his will that—

“ being, amongst many other causes, moved with the consideration of the fraylty and uncertainty of the lyves of all people and more particularly of my own life, whereby I am admonished to make myself ready as well in preparation of my soul to God as by the disposition of my temporall estate in this world,” that He did “in my perfect and sound memory and understanding make, &c., first and principally I render my soul unto my Lord God and Creator, firmly and assuredly trusting that by the death and passion of his dearlie beloved Son Christ Jesus my Saviour and Redeemer and by his onlie mercie and mediation for me I shall live and partake with his blessed spirits in his heavenly kingdom of those celestial joys which of his eternal goodness he hath prepared for his elect, of which number, through his infinite mercy and compassion, I do confidently hope and believe I am one, and my body I comend and leave to Christian buryall in such decent soil as my executrix shall think fittinge and as hereinafter expressed. . . And the goods and chattels which Almighty God of his bounteous liberality hath bestowed upon me I dispose of as follows—Debts of right or conscience, if any such shall be, to be first discharged—All the residue to be divided into two parts, the half I give to my loving wife Isabell Chetam for her own use, and the other moiety I bequeath as follows—To my brother James Chetham £5 for a remembrance of my love unto him. My said brother and his son George, my nephewe and now servant, stand bound to me in £100 by £20 a year for five years yet to come, I give the said £100 to Jane, Isabell, and Edward, children of my said brother

¹ George Chetham was buried in the Collegiate Church, Jan. 5, 1626-7.

James, viz. £40 to Jane, £40 to Isabell, and £20 to Edward—To my brother-in-law Roger Kay 40/-, and to my sister Ann his wife £20, and to every one of her children by her first husband Daniel Travis £10 apiece. To my brother Humphrey Chetham a twenty shilling piece in gold—The Lease which I took for 31 years with partable money betwixt me and my said brother Humphrey of the dwelling-house in London wherein I did lately inhabit and my servants there do now dwell, and of three other messuages thereunto adjoining, 17 or 18 years of the lease unexpired, I hereby give the said houses and the residue of the lease to my said brother Humphrey, my executrix having full liberty for one year next after my decease to enter the said house where I lately dwelt and to make sale of such goods and wares as are in the said house, or to remove them at her will and pleasure without any impediment from my said brother. I give to my sister Alice Chetam two twenty shilling pieces in gold, to my brother Ralph Chetam £200—I give to my old fellow servant and kind loving friend Roger Potter, now servant to Mr. George Tipping, £40 to be paid to him within six months after my decease—I give 10/- to my sisters-in-law, viz. Isabell wife of my said brother James Chetam, Margaret wife of my brother Ralph Chetam, Alice wife of my brother-in-law Adam Holland, my sisters-in-law Martha Prestwich, Ann Tonge, Sara Chapman and my sister-in-law Elizabeth Chetam dwelling in London—I give to my godsons Samuel son of the said Mr. George Tipping, George son of brother Ralph Chetam, George son of my brother-in-law Mr. Thomas Chetam of Nuthurst, and George son of my brother-Adam Holland 10/- each—To my cosen and now servant George son of my said brother James Chetam £300, to be paid by £100 a year—I give unto the poor people in Manchester 50/- and the same to the poor people in Salford to be distributed at the discretion of the Churchwardens of Manchester—I give to 50 poor men each a black frize coat in this manner to be ordered, first to 15 poor old men in Manchester and 15 poor old men in Salford, all of them to be of the age of three score years or more and none of them to be under the age of fifty years. And I do desire my loving friend Mr. Tacey (one of the Chaplains of the Collegiate Church) to join with my Overseers hereinafter named for the better

choosing of the poorest and oldest men in both places. I give unto ten poor old men in Crumpsall, where I was born, to each of them a black frize coat, and for the better choosing the oldest and poorest men therein I desire my loving friend Anthony Sheppard to joyn with my said Overseers. I give to five of the poorest and oldest men in Droylsden and five of the poorest and oldest men in Failsworth to be appointed and chosen by my said Overseers each of them a black frize coat. I give unto Mr. Doctor Giffard, Rector of St. Michael Bassieshaw in London £5. I do give unto the poor people of that parish £5 to be distributed amongst them at the discretion of the Parson and Churchwardens for the tyme beinge. I give to every such servant as shall dwell with me at Clayton at the tyme of my decease 10/- apiece, saving my servant Robert Marshall, to whom I give £10, and I desire my loving wife to respect his pains to be taken in viewing and setting down such goods as she selleth at Clayton Hall. Also it is my will and mind that the yearly exhibition or sum of money by me now paid to the two preaching curates in Manchester Church shall have continuance for ever. And likewise for the candles to furnish the large candlestick withal in the Church according as is specified in my book for three months in the deep of winter yearly. And for that intent and purpose my hearty desire is that my wife will have an especial care by and with the advice of some honest and religious friend, assisted with counsell learned, that the same exhibition may be continued to the same church and churchmen for ever, either by purchase of some lands by putting forth a stock of money for the continuance thereof, always provided that the two curates be preaching ministers such as the Warden and Fellows for the tyme being of Christ College in Manchester shall allow and approve of. I desire that there be no advantage taken or wrong done concerning any bills, bonds, specialities or debts owing to me and my said brother Humphrey, but that the same be equally divided as we have already begun and agreed and to be continued until it please God all or most part of our partable debts be received, and that a just and true account be kept and verified by my servants George Chetham and Adam Smith. And for the better advice and assistance of my executrix in her affairs in London concerning this my

the enclosed demesne in the park, which became a source of much unhappiness to Humphrey Chetham, and disturbed the peace of his latter days.¹

Clayton Hall appears to have been occupied at the time of the sale by the eldest son of the family, and from descriptions in the conveyance and in inventories, we conclude that the house was spacious, with a moat around it, a private chapel, square courts, a gate tower, ancient timber, a deer park, and all the appendages of a knightly residence, requiring perhaps no little outlay, when Humphrey Chetham took up his abode at the hall. Some parts of the building were of timber and plaster, constantly needing repair, and the more modern parts were of stone,

¹ The following case and opinion of counsel on the inclosure of Droylsden Moss is found in the *Chetham MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 223 (Chetham Library) :—

S^r John Byron at his will and pleasure did at divers tymes inclose part of Droylsden Mosse in severall inclosures when and so often as he saw good cause, or as the Turbary was gotte of the Moore :

Mr. Chetham having now purchased Droylesden Mosse, hath the same right to inclose the same that S^r John Byron not wth standing any words in Hibbert's conveyance.

He like wyse by his bayliffe did drive the catell of the More and would not suffer them to have comon of pasture.

Mr. Chetham hath that lawfull right to drive the More or Mosse as S^r John Byron had.

S^r John Byron granted unto me all his tythe right and interest of the same more or mosse, whereby I conceive I have power to drive or impound the Cattell or beast as trespassers on the moore or mosse and to inclose att my will and pleasure.

Mr. Chetham hath the same power to both inclose and drive the mosse as S^r John Byron had.

But the inhabitants of Droylsden that were then his tenants, and have now bought their tenements say I cannot inclose, because they being form^r purchas^{rs} they have a word in their deeds that gives them comon of pasture, to witt (feeding) neither (say they) can I drive their cattell.

Unlesse the tenants that have formerly purchased before Mr. Chetham purchased have other words than only (feedings) that will not hinder Mr. Chetham therein for feedings are only such as belong to their tenem^{ts}.

Downes vj^o Janij 1636.



From Photograph taken in 1882.

CLAYTON HALL.

choosing of the poorest and oldest men in both places. I give unto ten poor old men in Crumpsall, where I was born, to each of them a black frize coat, and for the better choosing the oldest and poorest men therein I desire my loving friend Anthony Sheppard to joyn with my said Overseers. I give to five of the poorest and oldest men in Droylsden and five of the poorest and oldest men in Failsworth to be appointed and chosen by my said Overseers each of them a black frize coat. I give unto Mr. Doctor Giffard, Rector of St. Michael Bassieshaw in London £5. I do give unto the poor people of that parish £5 to be distributed amongst them at the discretion of the Parson and Churchwardens for the tyme beinge. I give to every such servant as shall dwell with me at Clayton at the tyme of my decease 10/- apiece, saving my servant Robert Marshall, to whom I give £10, and I desire my loving wife to respect his pains to be taken in viewing and setting down such goods as she selleth at Clayton Hall. Also it is my will and mind that the yearly exhibition or sum of money by me now paid to the two preaching curates in Manchester Church shall have continuance for ever. And likewise for the candles to furnish the large candlestick withal in the Church according as is specified in my book for three months in the deep of winter yearly. And for that intent and purpose my hearty desire is that my wife will have an especial care by and with the advice of some honest and religious friend, assisted with counsell learned, that the same exhibition may be continued to the same church and churchmen for ever, either by purchase of some lands by putting forth a stock of money for the continuance thereof, always provided that the two curates be preaching ministers such as the Warden and Fellows for the tyme being of Christ College in Manchester shall allow and approve of. I desire that there be no advantage taken or wrong done concerning any bills, bonds, specialities or debts owing to me and my said brother Humphrey, but that the same be equally divided as we have already begun and agreed and to be continued until it please God all or most part of our partable debts be received, and that a just and true account be kept and verified by my servants George Chetham and Adam Smith. And for the better advice and assistance of my executrix in her affairs in London concerning this my

will I desire my loving friend Mr. Ralph Hough and my said servant and nephewe George Chetam to be Overseers. And for the better aid and advice of her affairs in Lancashire I desire my afore-named brother-in-law Adam Holland and my loving friend John Gylliam of Newton to be Overseers and I give to each of the four £6 13s. 4d. for their labour and pains. My funeral charges to be performed in such decent manner as my executrix shall think convenient by the advice of my said brother-in-law Adam Holland and John Gilliam, and that some cloaks may be given for mourning apparel to some of my kindred and to some of hers as in discretion and wisdom may be fitting. Yet thus much I desire that the whole charge of my funeral in cloaks or other things may not exceed £150 at the most. And all the residue of my said moiety I give to my said loving wife and constitute her sole executrix, hoping that she will willingly and faithfully execute the same according to my true intent and meaning herein expressed. And if after my decease there should happen any controversy to arise concerning this my testamentary disposition or any part thereof or any ambiguity or doubt to grow by reason of imperfection or defect of or in any words or clauses herein contained it is my will and mind that the only deciding determination and expression shall be by the good discretions of my said Overseers. And as the several gifts and legacies proceed out of my mere good will love and affection to the several parties named, and not otherwise, therefore I might persuade myself that they all have just cause and will be lovingly and peaceably contented and well pleased with what I have done, but if any of them should prove so uncourteous or unkind as to attempt to do any act or thing tending to the opposition or contradiction of my will I do hereby publish and declare that it is my will and mind that he or she so attempting practising doing or going about any such act shall utterly and absolutely lose his or her or their respective legacy and that the same shall be unto my said executrix and shall by her be disposed of to such pious and charitable uses as she in her own discretion shall think fit."

Mr. George Chetham's will seems to be a clear, intelligible and impressive picture of himself. He did not forget his old master, and the bequest to old Roger Potter, the chief manager

of Mr. Tipping, is noteworthy, as Roger is mentioned with great respect in other wills of these families.

George Chetham was a layman well affected to the Church. Its constitution and polity were well known to him. He was surrounded by puritans both in London and Manchester, but his clerical friends in both were not of that party in the Church. Like his nephew and servant George Chetham, he regularly attended the services of the Church, punctually paid all Church dues, gave his rector money to bestow on the poor, and in various ways promoted Church work. It is obvious that he was a consistent High Churchman, and approved of its primitive ritual and discipline. The provisions made by his will for the endowment and perpetuation of two chaplains in the Collegiate Church, to be approved by the Warden and Fellowes, and his personal regard for Dr. Giffard ¹ and Mr. Tacey, the latter a relative of his family, and both of them able and zealous clergymen, may not be overlooked. As far as we can trace his personal life and character he was an active, intelligent, and practical man of business. He was one who had no wild projects or idle schemes of any kind. He began life with one object, and seems to have judiciously carried it out to the end. In several brief and scattered notices of him and his transactions, and obviously in the disposal of his property, he appears to have been a benevolent man, and respected by his contemporaries. No flaw in his character or proceedings has been discovered, and his prosperous career may fairly be ascribed to his consistent religious principles. He was on the side of the court in politics, and when the Parliament carried its frugality to an extreme, he helped to supply the King's necessities and his exhausted treasury, by several times

¹ He was rector of St. Michael Bassishaw, in Basinghall Ward, in which parish Mr. George Chetham lived, and was presented to the living by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. The church was repaired and beautified in 1630, and burnt down in the great fire, but rebuilt by Wren. In 1636 John Giffard, S.T.P., was still the rector, but was ejected for his loyalty in 1642.—*Newcourt's Repert.*, vol. i. p. 478. *Walker's Sufferings*, Part II. p. 170. *Foster's Alumni Oxon.* There are many notices of him in the diary of George Chetham, who seems to have held him in great esteem.

advancing sums of money on writs of Privy Seal, at a time when this mode of raising public money was very unpopular. It is conjectured that he devised all his real estate to his bachelor brother Humphrey to carry out some of his own unfulfilled intentions of a charitable nature. There was a complete community of principle and action between these brothers, and an uninterrupted fraternal union. Humphrey Chetham by will (afterwards cancelled) appropriated large sums of money to God's service and to the poor, and seems to have regarded himself as a steward of his deceased brother, and certainly filled the void occasioned by his death.

NOTE TO P. 21.—The following undated list of the tenants of the Clayton estate, showing the rents and "bounes," or goods and services due to the lord of the manor, is taken from the *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iv. p. 4.

These Tenants whose names are here underwritten were purchased with the manor house of Cleyton.

| | | | |
|--|---|----|---|
| John Travies for his ould rent of Cleyton mille and ground is to bee paid | | | |
| by equall porçons at Midsum ^r and Christmas - - - - - | 5 | 02 | 6 |
| Jno. Travies more to pay rent for a closse purchased of Raphe Marller of | | | |
| ffaylsworth ten shillings per ann., I say - - - - - | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| to be paid by equall porçons at Midsum ^r and Christ. as abovesaid, in all | 5 | 12 | 6 |

John Travies his bounes is three hens at Christmas.

| | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| Richard Heape for his rent of his house and ground at Drylsden, to bee | | | |
| paid by equall porçons at Midsum ^r and Christmas - - - - - | 01 | 01 | 00 |

Rich. Heape his bounes is seaven hens at Christmas, more half an acre of ground plowing and harrowing and shearing, more one day leading of corne in harvest, more leading twentie loads of turves, and to be allowd 1^d 0^d per load as formerly done to S^r Jno. Byron.

| | | | |
|---|----|----|----|
| Richard Buckley for his rent of his house and ground in Droylsd. to bee | | | |
| paid by equal porçons at Midsum ^r and Christmas - - - - - | 00 | 06 | 04 |

Rich. Buckley his bounes is two hens at Christmas.

| | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| Wm. Grunshaw for his rent of his cottage in Droylsden to bee paid, &c. | 00 | 02 | 06 |
|--|----|----|----|

| | | | |
|--|----|----|----|
| Edmund Ashton for his rent of his house and ground in Woodhouses, to | | | |
| bee paid, &c. - - - - - | 00 | 01 | 10 |

Ric. Johnson for his rent of his house and ground in Droylsden to bee paid by equall porçons at Midsum^r and Christmas as hereafter shalbee agreed upon.

Robte Hibbert for his rent of his house and ground in Drylsden, to bee paid, &c. - - - - - 00 03 00

One Beswick for Jno. Gill for his rent of his house and ground in Drylsden - - - - - 00 03 07

Wm. Cloughe for his rent of his house and ground in Drylsden - - 00 02 01

Note of Rents for Lands purchased in Ann^o 1623 and 1624, by pticlers as followeth, viz^d.:—

Robte Rodley of Collyhurst for his rent of his house and ground to bee paid by equall porçons att Michaelmas and Ladie day - - - 6 00 00

Robte Rodley his bounes is two hens at Christmas, more two acres of hay grasse tented at hay harvest.

John Thorpe for his house and ground in Drylsden to bee paid att Midsummer and Christmas by equall porçons - - - - - 3 06 08

Jno. Thorpe his bounes two hens at Christmas.

James Hall for his rent of his house and ground in Drylsd. to bee paid by equall porçons at Midsumm^r and Christm. - - - - - 13 06 08

James Hall his bounes not yet agreed upon.

Geo. Kenion for his rent of his house and Ground in Droylsden to bee paid, etc. - - - - - 08 00 00

Geo. Kenion his bounes half an acre sheringe and 2 hens at Christmas.

Adam Holland de Heathgate his house and ground to bee letten and leased hereafter.

This house and ground above said is leased out to Jno. Gilliam of ffaylsworth for the terme of three lives to pay twentie pounds a year, to bee paid, etc. - - - - - 20 00 00

Jno. Gilliam his bounes are foure dayes shearinge and two hens at Christmas.

John Huit [or Hiutt] de Droylsden for his house and ground to bee paid, etc. 08 13 04

John Hiutt his bounes are 2 hens at Christmas and shearinge an acre.

In vol. iv. p. 21 of the *Chetham MSS.* is the following :—

A note of such lande as hathe beene plowed and sowed in Claiton theese 2 yeares last past 1636, 1637.

| | ac. | r. | poles. |
|----------------------------|-----|----|--------|
| The Stonie Banke - - - - - | 02 | 0 | 20½ |
| The Dingle field - - - - - | 09 | 2 | 18 |
| The Croc Hoult - - - - - | 15 | 3 | 32 |
| The Swyne Parke - - - - - | 04 | 3 | 21½ |
| The Orchard - - - - - | 00 | 3 | 08 |
| The Roye field - - - - - | 14 | 2 | |
| | 47 | 3 | 20 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|-----|
| The Swyne Parke | - | - | - | - | - | 04 | 3 | 21½ |
| The Orchard | - | - | - | - | - | 00 | 3 | 08 |
| The Roy field | - | - | - | - | - | 14 | 2 | |
| The Barne field | - | - | - | - | - | 06 | 3 | 32 |
| The Conigree in p'te | - | - | - | - | - | 09 | 0 | 35½ |
| The 6 ac. [? Six acre] in p'te | - | - | - | - | - | 02 | 3 | 36 |
| The Mosie Medowe | - | - | - | - | - | 01 | 2 | 09½ |
| The Lords Crofte | - | - | - | - | - | 03 | 1 | 21½ |
| In the litle Edge | - | - | - | - | - | 04 | 1 | 02½ |
| | | | | | | 48 | 02 | 06½ |

CHAPTER IV.

FROM the death of his brother Clayton Hall became the fixed residence of Humphrey Chetham. The house in London, for a time at least, was occupied by another George Chetham, the nephew of the two brothers, and a special favourite with them both. He had been their confidential man of business, and is styled "Servant" to his deceased uncle, who left him a legacy. Previous to the acquisition of the Clayton estate, Humphrey had bought several farms in Droylsden, Newton, and Failsworth, adjacent to Clayton, on his own account, and has left a statement of the various sums he paid for the lands.¹

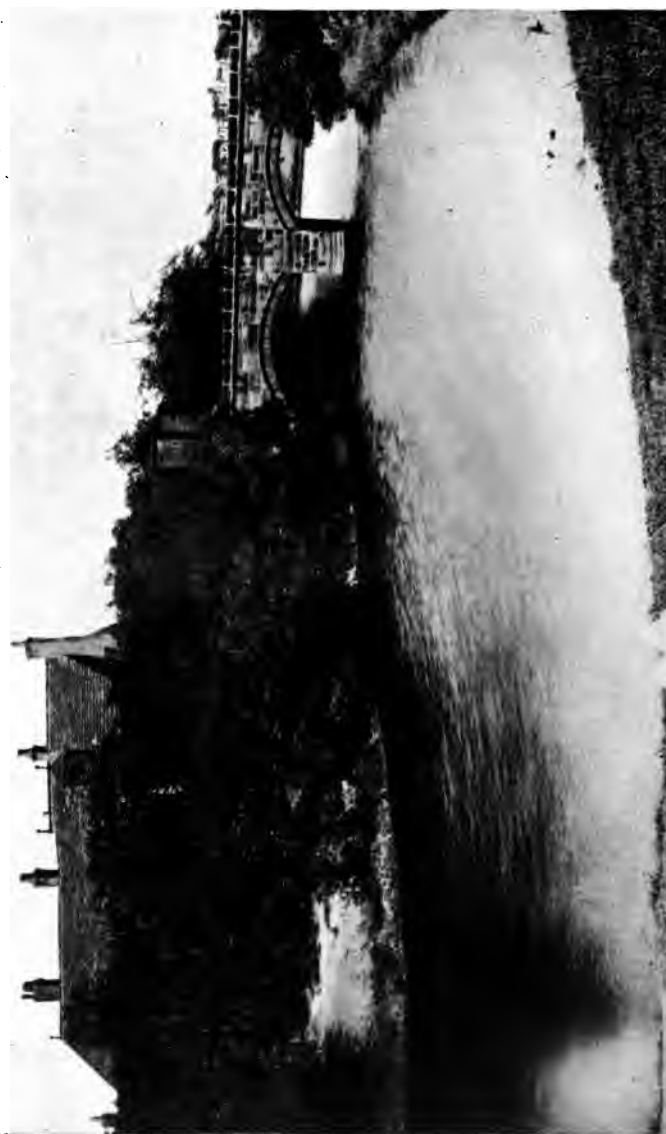
On the 8th Nov., 1626, he has noted several small debts owing to him, from which we learn that he had in "Money lent in various sums" (the highest being £200 and the lowest £1 10s.) £785 9s. 4d. To wool sold to a great many persons £124 18s. 8d. the regular price being £21 for 1 pack of Cypress wool 12xx. (score) weight. For Irish yeorne (yarn) £89 13s. 4d. For dossen (dozen) yeorne £1 14s. 6d. Wooll sould by retale £18 8s. 0d. do £210 13s. 0d. In all £1,230 16s. 10d.² This sum would not

¹ Lands bought of these persons following A^o 1623, 1624, 1625:—

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|-----|----|----|
| Paid to Robert Rodley of Collyhurst | - | - | - |
| Paid to John Thorpe of Droylsden | - | - | - |
| Paid to James Halls of do. | - | - | - |
| Paid to Geo. Kenion of do. | - | - | - |
| Paid to Adam Holland of Heathgate for his house and land in Newton and Failsworth | - | - | - |
| | 90 | 0 | 0 |
| | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| | 240 | 0 | 0 |
| | 120 | 0 | 0 |
| | 470 | 0 | 0 |
| | 970 | 0 | 0 |
| Payd Ralph Grimshaw for his house and land in Droylsden | - | - | - |
| | 130 | 0 | 0 |

Chetham MSS., vol. iii. p. 19. See also Chapter III. pp. 27-29.

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 22.



From Photograph taken in 1882.

CLAYTON HALL.

1

represent the whole of his personal estate at this time, nor does it embrace his rental from his farms, as he enumerates at Christmas, 1628, forty-two tenants, whose half-year's rents amounted to £39 4s. 2d.

Mr. Chetham's frequent journeys to Bolton had brought him acquainted with the old and respectable family of Orrell of Turton, and he had seen a wasteful and improvident son of a careful father encumber a fine estate which, after his death, had to be sold. Turton had been acquired in 1421 by William, fourth son of Nicholas Orrell of Orrell (and his wife Ellen, daughter of Sir John Stanley of Knowsley), by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Torbock, Esq.¹ On the death of John Orrell, Esq., in 1626, his more prudent brother William, probably prompted by the counsel of his learned uncle Richard Orrell, the marshal or usher of the Court of Chancery, under Sir Gilbert Gerard and Sir Thomas Egerton,² made vigorous efforts to preserve the hereditary estate by attempting to raise £1000, possibly to pay off smaller mortgages. Humphrey Chetham was ready to advance that sum on the 28th March, 1627, and the draft of the mortgage was prepared, but it was probably found plainly impossible to save the property, and the document was not executed. Various negotiations and preliminaries were entered into, and it is easy to perceive that Humphrey Chetham was ready to protect the reasonable interests of the family whilst not too eager to advance his own, but all his concessions failed. On the 5th August, 1628, it was finally agreed that the manor and lordship of Turton, with the capital mansion called Turton Tower, the demesne lands, water corn mill, and all the lands of William Orrell, Esq., situate in Turton, with rents, &c., along with a private chapel or aisle appurtenant to Turton, situate on the north side of Bolton Church, should be conveyed in fee to Humphrey Chetham, Gent., for £4000, and certain conditions were further named.

¹ *Lanc. MSS.* vol. vi. p. 174.

² *Egerton Papers*, Camd. Soc., p. 197.

He has recorded that "the Tower and the demesne, and 700 acres of land were worth £190 per annum. That the woods, chiefly plane and ash within the manor, were worth £700, also boons and rents, and 520 more acres"¹—whether the latter means acres of moor or an addition to the first named quantity is not clear. There were upwards of sixty tenants whose names are recorded.

Turton Tower was originally built as a fortalice, and although considerably altered by additions made in 1596 by William Orrell, Esq.,² the oldest parts of the buildings were left standing. At this time it was surrounded by bleak dusky hills and steep escarpments full of high ranges and the moors covered with heather. Lower down there were clumps of stately sycamores and fine ash trees, green and heavy with luxuriant foliage, probably fragments of the primitive forest. Here and there were scattered a few quaint old fashioned farmsteads and thatched cottages, and the little chapel, as when Camden visited it, nestling among trees, though "among precipices and wastes,"³ and the whole forming a picture for an artist when Humphrey Chetham went to take possession of his new home.

It is proof of the friendly consideration of Mr. Chetham towards Mrs. Alice Orrell, the widow of Mr. John Orrell, that although she demurred for some time to execute the deed of sale she remained to the end of her life at Turton. The popular feeling against members of the Church of Rome was so keen and harsh that a few years previously an attempt had been made to prevent the widows of recusants having any jointure at all, or even to have the benefit of the law, but Archbishop Bancroft pleaded, and not unsuccessfully, their righteous cause, and in this case it was willingly recognised by Humphrey Chetham. In a letter addressed to him "at Clayton behind Manchester," by Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh, Esq., on the 1st March, 1629, the writer says,

¹ *Turton Evid.*, 1628.

² *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. vi.

³ Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Gough, vol. iii. p. 375.



From Photograph taken about 1890.

TURTON TOWER.



From Photograph taken about 1890.

TURTON TOWER.

“that his sister Mrs. Orrell was ready to execute the deed of sale and would meet Mr. Chetham at his (Mr. Bradshaigh's) cousin Downes' at Wardley on the following Thursday for that purpose, and if there should be any defect on his sister Orrell's part, he would go with Mr. Chetham to Turton on the same night in order that it might be perfected.¹ The widow had her thirds reserved out of the estate and enjoyed her dower for many years. On the 29th Sept., 1636, Sir Gilbert Hoghton, Charles Gerard, and Alexander Rigby, Esquires, exempted the widow Orrell from keeping and maintaining a light horse for her Turton land, and cast the burden upon Mr. Chetham, notwithstanding a previous order of the Deputy Lieutenants to the contrary. There is ground to conclude that Mr. Chetham favoured the widow as he provided several light horse for Turton.² His own religious convictions were clear and strong, but he was more tolerant of the convictions of others than many of his friends. He had his opinions of the Roman Catholic religion, but I have not discovered that he ever evinced any feeling or sanctioned any action approaching to the persecution of those who exercised that faith. Perhaps the most vital feature in the political struggle of his day had its origin in religion, and yet he was the cordial friend of Sir Cecil Trafford, the considerate benefactor of poor Mrs. Orrell, the warm ally of Christopher Anderton of Lostock, and appears to have cherished a strong personal regard for the family. If we consider the spirit of his times there was something noble and disinterested in his conduct in the midst of all the bitter and intemperate dissensions prevailing in Manchester, and we see in it the triumph of the Church realized. He respected the religious feelings of those whom he might consider to be hardly used by the penal laws, by the intolerant bigot and the hot zealot. He had probably heard Warden Heyrick preach in the Collegiate Church and warn his hearers not to nourish any secret hidden sin or corruption belonging to popery, and not to have any converse acquaintance or familiarity with Papists.

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 184.

"I pity those," said he, "that have papists lying in their bosoms, those children that have popish parents, those servants that have popish masters, those tenants that have popish landlords, those poor neighbours that have great popish friends. Beloved, stand fast! Have nothing to do with popery in any kind whatsoever."¹ Nor may we regard Humphrey Chetham for a moment indifferent or too accommodating in his religion, or its creeds or ritual. He clung to the reformed English Church, and its history and traditions were dear to him, although he agreed with the generality of the later Reformers, and especially with those Augustinian views which were so strongly opposed to the opinions of Arminius, at that time embraced by the High Church clergy, and by those who were supposed to sympathise with the Roman Catholics.

It is creditable to the religious character of Humphrey Chetham that no sooner had the old family been removed from their ancient haunts, and the new occupants installed in their place, than that one of his first public acts was to rebuild the ancient chapel, which had clearly received small countenance and less support from the late manerial owners.

From the accounts of Mr. James Walmsley the Steward,² we learn :—

| | | | £ | s. | d. |
|----------------|---|-----|----|----|----|
| 1629, Oct. 17. | Paid for the poor of Turton | - - | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| | Paid for mossinge the Chapell at Bolton | | 0 | 4 | 6 |
| | Pd unto Mr. Chaderton | - - | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 1630, Jan. 16. | Pd for and towards the buildinge of | | | | |
| | Turton Chappell | - - | 38 | 2 | 3 |
| | Pd more for the building of the sd | | | | |
| | Chappell | - - | 9 | 12 | 4 |
| | Pd more for flagging the Chappell at | | | | |
| | Bolton and some other things | - - | 1 | 5 | 8 |

It is not known either when or by whom the chapel was first built, but the nomination of the minister was equally claimed by the vicar of Bolton and the inhabitants of Turton, the lord of

¹ H. Ware's *Foundations*, vol. i. p. 173.

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iv. pp. 14-16.

the manor doubtless largely influencing the minister's election, and chiefly providing the means for his support.² "On the 7th March, 1627-8, Richard Denton, B.A., was admitted (by Bishop Bridgeman) to serve the cure of Turton on the nomination of Humphrey Chetham gent."

For upwards of a century the Chethams of Crumpsall had been connected with the Collegiate Church as lessees of the tithes of some of the townships of Manchester parish, and Humphrey Chetham and his eldest brother James were now lessees. The Wardens and Fellows were always on the best terms with their lessees, and no instance of litigation or dispute had occurred between them, although during the greater part of the first half of the seventeenth century there was little else than fierce contention prevailing both within and without. It is difficult to form even a notion of the proceedings and conduct of the members of the Collegiate body. Everything connected with the College was deplorably bad. Sir Richard Murray, a needy Scotchman, had through Court influence, unfairly superseded the senior fellow, Mr. William Bourne, in the wardenship, and had induced him to forego his claim to the dignity by settling on him, after the fashion of Simon Magus, a pension of £30 a year for his life. This annuity was charged upon the tithes of Manchester, and on the 22nd March, 1622-3, Humphrey Chetham and Adam Smith of Manchester, paid the warden, at "the Strand in London," £135, no part of which found its way into the coffers either of Mr. Bourne or the other members of the body entitled to their share of it. The Bishop of Chester, as visitor, was appealed to; but the warden did not think it his duty to submit to any official mandate or to obey the law of the Church. He seems to have regarded himself as a tenant of an expiring lease, and not as a trustee of God for the good of his Church, and yet for twenty-eight years this man of evil omen afflicted Manchester. Some members of the corporate body were little better than their head. Mr. William Bourne the

² Gastrell's *Not. Cestr.*, vol. ii. Part I., p. 23.

Fellow, as his personal friend Hollinworth says "dissented little or nothing from the discipline used in Scotland but vehemently propugned it,"¹ in spite of the admonitions of his diocesan and the feeble powers of his court at Chester. Mr. Ralph Kyrke, one of the Chaplains, would give no quarter to the surplice, and never wore it, omitted the Common Prayers of the Church, and as the Bishop was informed "devysed prayers on his owne head," dispensed altogether with sponsors in Holy Baptism, and openly railed at the hierarchy.² Mr. Learoyd, another Chaplain, administered the Holy Communion to "diverse persons sittinge," and practised other irregularities.³ Through the default of the Warden the roof of the choir was so bad that "it was in great danger of fallinge, and the Fellows and Chaplains could not receive their incomes."⁴ It is no wonder that Mr. Torkington did not reside, that Mr. Baker came to an untimely end, and that Peter Shaw, another Fellow, through the Warden's bad interest, was ominously called, in a letter to Humphrey Chetham, "Diabolus fratrum."⁵ The laity deplored these fundamental alterations in the services of the Church which seemed to prove that the consciences of some of their teachers were marvellously elastic, their tempers wonderfully severe, and their views of ecclesiastical discipline utterly wrong. It is somewhat singular that he who was the chief origin of some of these mischievous proceedings, himself brought them under the notice of Archbishop Abbot, probably as a member of the Privy Council, and one of the Commissioners for the Reformation of Religious Abuses in the North, and not of the Northern Primate who had more than an indirect authority over the Collegiate Church. The following original letter from Archbishop Abbott has been preserved amongst the Chetham muniments, and although the address is torn off, it seems to have been addressed to Humphrey Chetham, a lessee of the capitular body, and probably one of the churchwardens of the parish :—

¹ *Mancuniensis*, p. 104.

² *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxxii.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ See Johnson's letter of May 1, 1634, in Chapter V.

Sir,

After my hartie commendacions, I have received advertisement that in the Church of Manchester which should bee a President of vertue and obedience to the wholle Countrey there are many disorders concerninge Ecclesiastical affayres and I am lett to understand that a greate reason whereof is because the Church Wardens whoe should have the care of that place are such as are contented to wyncke att disorders and doe never presente them to the Bishoppe of the Diocesse. I marvell how theis persons can dispense withe the Oathe whiche they doe take whereby it behooveth them to take noatice of such inconformities to the Canons and Orders of the Churche and soe to seeke to redresse them. I know his Majestie will be much offended when he shall heare thereof. And itt will bee noe pleasure for those which transgresse this waye to bee called up hither to bee censured by the High Comission for their misdemeanour. For the preventinge of boath which I have held it fitt to directe these my Letters without any noyse unto you that out of that authoritie and reputaçon which you have with that people you doe obteyne that such may be chosen Churchwardens this nexte tyme of Election as will doe their duties and sett forth Order and the peace of the Church which iff it bee effected I have my end with quietnes yf otherwise wee must take suche a course here as will not be very pleasinge unto suche as offend. So commendinge mee unto you I leave you to Gods hollye protection.

From Lambeth this 16th Aprill, 1622.

Your verie lovinge frend,

Signed G. Cant.¹

The puritanical proceedings of the Manchester clergy are rebuked by the Archbishop, although he was one who considered the Christian religion, according to Clarendon, not otherwise than as it abhorred and resisted Popery, and valued those men most who did that the most furiously. At this time, owing to the unhappy accident in Bramshill Park a few months preceding, the Archbishop, although not yet suspended from the discharge

¹ *Chetham MSS.* This letter and the following letters from Murray are given from Canon Raines's transcripts. The originals cannot be found by the editor.

of his sacred function, lived in privacy, but he was still wishful to reduce the Manchester chaos to order. Notwithstanding the Primate's appeal the evils still continued in all their deformity. The Warden insisted upon receiving the rents of the tithes from the co-lessees, James and Humphrey Chetham, as appears by the following letter :—

Good Mr. Chettam,

I have received one or two letters from you of late by which I perceave your greate cair in the trust I have comitted unto you which I hope you will continue, and yet in these letters I have no anser touchinge that poynt I wrot to your brother for Mr. Banister and touchinge the Churchwardens that ar to bee choisen, wherof I mervall, as lykwayis touchinge Mr. Burnes wadges, whiche yf you have payd as I heir no such matter as yet, ye have done yourselfe and mee wronge baith and I nor ye neither con not anser it to the Visitors, bot I hope it be not soe For their is no man of understandinge in the Parish that doth not know that by all the Authoritye I have and the Visitor can confer upon me he doth stand suspended from Wadges and all sort of confer priviledges and prerogatyves the College could afford him, untill firstly hee so submitt himself to the Orders and Cannons of the Church, but of this ye will hear more yf ever hee coms upone this syde of y^e High Court, and happilie sooner. As for the resolu^{ti}one of your questiones—I think they dare not be soe boulde as to shoute upp the Barne doores and if they do let thame do itt at their perell and take the curse of God upon theire owne heids, for I will be cleir of it ; but if they do I know they will be opened to their greatte disgrace, but there shall no man receave the money but yourselfe neither shall ye deburse any of it to anie man until ye have furdur Order and Warrant from one for what I comand shall have authoritie, and I will stand betwixt you and all perrell and strength whatsoever. But for that you and they have been at wordes, speak to thame with reason and advyse them to be wyse and not to stur any farder. They wyll repent what they have done allreadye. And farder ye may tell thame that they knowe all the sarpleadge of this money will not paye the arrearages of my own Wadges, and yet I do not mind to middill with a pennie of it nor demand a shillinge of it from you ;

but keip it still into your own hands untill it bee all gathered
and then we will take order for itt that no one shall take any excep-
tions at you for itt. Soe thanking you most kindlye for your greate
paines for which I will rest your debtor, I comitt you to God and reste.

Your true ffriend assured,

Richard Murray.

London, 12 Aprill, 1622.

To my verie lovinge & trustie
friend Mr. Chettam att Crumpsall
deliver theis.

I shall entreate you to
send the reste of theis
letters to James G'ton
& Wm. Leigh.

As a proof of the smallness and irregularity of the payments
made to the collegiate body, we may presume by the burser (if
Mr. Chetham filled that office), the following statement was made
by Humphrey Chetham. The Warden and two of the Fellows
are omitted in the first, and one of the Fellows in the second list.

1621, July 1. I pd. for Midsummer Quarter's Wages to ye

| | Company. | £ | s. | d. |
|-----------|--|---|----|----|
| Fellows | Mr. Bournes - - - | 5 | 13 | 4 |
| | Mr. Baker - - - | 1 | 13 | 4 |
| Chaplains | Mr. Tacey - - - | 5 | 6 | 2 |
| | Mr. Learoyd - - - | 5 | 6 | 2 |
| | To the four Quiristers - - | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| | To the Clerks & Bellman - | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | To the Waits - - - | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| | To the Barber - - - | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| | To one quart of Wine and Sugar when he preached - - | 0 | 0 | 8 |

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---|----|----|----|
| Annunciation, 1622. | I pd. Mr. Warden - - - | 18 | 0 | 0 |
| | Mr. Bourne - - - | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Mr. Balcanquall - - - | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Mr. Baker - - - | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Chaplains | Mr. Learoid - - - | 2 | 10 | 8½ |
| | Mr. Tacey - - - | 2 | 10 | 8½ |
| | Item pd. them for Morning Prayer - - - | 0 | 10 | 0 |

The following letter addressed by the Warden "To his verie lovinge friend James Chettam off Crumpsall att his house there," is dated "London the last day of Maye." The year is not added, but as Mr. Bourne received part of his income from the tithes in 1621, it may be referred to that year. The Warden's complaints were still continued, and he was greatly annoyed to find that any thing had been paid to the excommunicated fellow, Mr. Bourne. About this time James Chetham appears to have relinquished his interest in the lease which probably had expired in due course, and he had no further interest in the tithes and fortunately for him no other transactions with Sir Richard Murray. It was otherwise with his brother.

If my letter was generall ye should have begun firste to pay mee who is in arreares ever since the lait Receavers death, for the Warden is to be first paid. And ye might have paid Mr. Torkington and Mr. Balcanquell both their wadges who was not directlye prohibited as Mr. Burne and both the Leighs could have told you. So all these are but figg leaves that will not cover anie mans nakedness. But now to deale plainlie with you yee shall forbear to pay anie untill my downe coïninge or letter of direction to that effect except only the Chaplaines, Singinge men, and Choristers and let their Acquittances all be made to the new Receaver, Banister, or otherwayes deburse no moneys for ye must make up the Accounts now of the whole Revenues of the College. I pray you send me a particular Noit what wadges ye have debursed and to what persons and what the remainder will be that is in your hands and what that Grain may be gest to be worth that is yet behind, for Mr. Balcanquell and myselfe are behind a great deale more than that will growe into. He is VII. quarters wadges behind and myself fyve besides some moneys that my man debursed at Christmas last for payment of the dinner and which I shall desyer you without enquiring of Mr. Bournes leave to pay agayne upon the sight hereof. Now ye must think of myself and Doctor Balcanquell who is now the Kings Servant and Mr. of the Savoy—As for Mr. Torkington ye know he was never yet in use of payment, neyther yf he were could he recover any by the Foundation bot for those days wherein

he is present. So I think ye have as smoothe direccon set down here an ye will follow it as ye cannot but do except ye do it unwillinglie. If there be any thing yee doubt of let me be advertised. And in the mean tyme labour to recover that which you have negligentlie geven out allryddie which no doubt will be questioned if he doe not conforme himselfe as I hope he will, ffor we are now not far from ane agreement yff some eveil disposed ffellow that loves to ffische in moudie watters, doe not againe kindle the coals of contention and contradicon. Let me heare from you what reports you do hear and so this brawll betwixt me and you (for which ye are much to blame and geves me much offence) let it be buried in oblivion and labour you to recover that which is lost and so shall you have me still to remain now as before yr lovinge friend.

It is clear that no Chapters were held and no regard paid to the statutes of the College, and the non-resident Warden seems to have done, or attempted to do, what he pleased with the revenues of the College. Humphrey Chetham was his somewhat reluctant agent, and not always disposed to execute his commands, feeling that the trust was abused, and the rules of the Chapter altered to the mutual disadvantage of all the parties concerned. The Warden again writes to his "lovinge and approved freind" on the 21st June, 1622, and his humourous allusion to Mr. Bourne's aversion to the use of the Surplice was evidently not addressed to one who sympathised with the senior Fellow's Presbyterian opinions and practices, and who intemperately propagated them, as Humphrey Chetham afterwards might have said :

"Because you have thrown off your Prelate Lord
and with stiff vows renounced his Liturgy."

Good Mr. Chettam,

I wrett unto you some ten or twelf days agoe my directions touching Mr. Bournes wadges wiche was unnecess^{ry} ffor that ye knowe I did tax your judgement for paying of it before in that my last letter as I remember I did restrain you and make stay of Mr. Bakers wadges ffor this Midsummer next untill Mr. Balcanquall

and myselfe were as far forward into our wadges wherein I think betwixt us there is neir viii.^{xx} [eight score] pounds in arrearys and I think that is much moir than will be in both the Barnes, the Wadges of the Chaplaines, the Singinge men, and the Choristers payed and Mr. Baker which now must be payed soe that wee are agreed and there is nothing to say unto him lykeas unto Mr. Burne which must conforme himself or he must be nipped of that place. Mr. Baker will brak oppen the Barne doores for that he is bound by one awarde that all the remaynder except the Wadges shall fall into my disposinge for I have payd soundlye for thame. Mr. Borne and he hath boithe money in abundance now soe they ned no wadges at this tyme but Mr. Baker, my brother hath my promiss to helpe him and therein pay him for men dare not well offend a Bedchalker man for fear of a worse turne. I must entreate you to make all the moneye you can of the Corne of both the Barnes with the best speed may bee, for I have layd out a heavy deale of moneye here wich I must repaye towards these Cormorantes and Userers in the Citie before the hinder ende of the next monthe. I praye you learne what Corne belonged to the College was at Didsburye this last yeare in whose tenure and in whose name it is keepit who hath the handelling of ytt and how it stands disposed of. And writte to mee in all hast and how much is taken up from this last yeares crops from the tennants to whose use and what will be the remainder both of the last yeares and of the two preceedinge yeares and in whose hands it is how much is taken up and what the remaynder will growe into for I have allyddie accordinge to one awarde by one arbitrator payed a hundred pounds to Mr. Borne and Mr. Baker wich must be raised again out of theis Arrearayes that are remayninge unpaid of counsel learned by conferringe of the Bookes of composition this three yeares wich is receaved and what is remayninge wich I must desire to be informed off. Mr. Baker tells me that he knows of no more that is taken up except some xxx.^{li} was sins let Mr. Balcanquell and me he payed the arrearayes of our Wadges so far as they have been payd theirs, onlye I doe wish that the poore Chapleines and the other inferior members be payd theire Wadges for this midsummer next and the rest to be stayed until it be recovered out of their hands that it is in, for they that can bynde

can lykewise loose. The rest to my former letters. For the meane-
time I rest,

Your true friend assured

Ric. Murray, cl.

I do hope beffore y^e Receatte of my next letter you shall hear
the ffellowes and myselfe shall ende this brawll but Mr. Bourne must
needs weare his white garmente of Innocencie, which will poyson
his brothers and sisters puritie.¹

¹ Canon Raines has omitted to note where he found the original letters quoted on
pages 39-43, and I am unable to repair the omission.—S.

CHAPTER V.

"AUGUST 6th, 1623," Chetham has noted—"lefte Manchester with my friends for my occasions in London,"—but he has not recorded the nature of his "occasions." Trade, as well as the Warden's business, now occupied much of his anxious care. In going from Manchester to London at this time the tradesmen and gentry were in the habit partly of walking and partly of riding in company for mutual protection. Public vehicles were unknown. A strong horse, a pair of saddle bags containing his linen and necessaries, and in his holsters the precautionary brace of pistols, would be his equipment. There are not many notices of Humphrey Chetham's London visits. When he had just attained his twenty-first year he seems to have visited his brother George, and was the bearer of the following singular letter from Edmund Trafford, of Trafford, Esq.,¹ to various small creditors, which he probably exhibited to them individually in passing through Northampton, and which will account for its being found amongst his muniments.

"To his loving Friends Mr. Ball, Mr. Holland, Mr. Higham and Mr. Henry Holland, of Northampton.

Whereas I have receyved several letters from every of you for the payment of such severall moneys as you wryte thereby I doe owe, for satisfaction whereat I am willinge, yet at this tyme my payments in other persons are so great as I cannot now doe as I would most wyllingly have done which ys to satisfie your desyres. But if you and every of you can be contented to forbear me untill Michaelmas Terme next that you do signify the same your lykinge unto me before Whitsunday I will undoubtedly pay you then as my

¹ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. i. p. 149.

man goeth up to the Terme and soe the same I request you, being very sorry I cannot at this time furnish your wants. And thus with my comēdaçons doe comytt you to God. Trafford this 9th of Maye 1601.

Your Lovinge Friend,
Ed. Trafford.”¹

By Hump^y Chetam.

Years passed away and there was no improvement in the state of the Church in Manchester. The Charter granted by Queen Elizabeth was clearly in abeyance, its provisions disregarded and its injunctions set aside, so that it was generally supposed to be lost. In 1632 Mr. Richard Johnson was elected to a fellowship of the Collegiate Church. All elections and appointments under such a state of things could hardly fail to be irregular, and as he became opposed to the Warden's proceedings, that dignitary, when it suited his purpose, called in question Mr. Johnson's legal title to his fellowship.

From the time of his installation Johnson found in Humphrey Chetham a steady friend, and he, like his friend, was adverse to the Warden and also to Mr. Bourne. He found them both defying the Visitors, episcopal and archiepiscopal, rejecting the principle of authority and being very abusive and noisy too. Bourne regarded the Warden as “a curious and carnal person lacking the spirit of Christ,” and Mr. Johnson more than insinuated, in a letter to Humphrey Chetham, that the Warden had fallen, or been “thrust into recklessness of most unclean living,” a charge which, as it was not attempted to be proved against him, was probably slanderous.

¹ It appears that on the 8 October, 1601, Elizabeth Meanley, of Northampton, widow, administratrix to John Holland of the same, woollen draper, deceased, received at the hands of James Chetham, clothier, Salford, £8, the debt of Edmund Trafford, of Trafford. On the 26 March, 1602, Lawrence Ball, linnen draper, and Roger Higham, innkeeper, received from the same £1 10s. 2d. on the part of Edm. Trafford, Esq. And on the 10 November, 1604, Roger Higham, of Northampton, innholder, received £4 18s. 0d. from James Chetham, of Salford, clothier, from Sir Edmund Trafford, of Trafford, Knt.

Mr. Johnson always regarded the bursar as one who had the true interest of the Church more at heart than some of its own ministers, and if suits unhappily arose, fruitful of litigation, in which Humphrey Chetham was involved, Mr. Johnson does not seem to have considered, nor was there any ground for considering, the lessee blameworthy. It appears that on the 1st October, 1622, Warden Murray, by his own sole authority, leased the tithe of grain and corn of the parish of Manchester to Humphrey Chetham and Adam Smyth, Gent., at a rent of £340 a year, and out of this sum Bourne's pension was to issue. It does not seem to have occurred to Humphrey Chetham that the Chapter was omitted in this transaction, and that the consent of the whole or a major part of the members of the body ought to have been obtained. A month afterwards the Warden, Mr. Francis Torkington, and Mr. William Bourne, two of the fellows unitedly, leased for twenty-one years, the tithe corn of "Killigreaves (Killigrew's) Lease" which probably included the tithes of the several townships of Manchester and Salford, to Sir Thomas Coventry, Kt., his Majesty's Attorney General, and Thomas Fanshaw of Jenkins, in the co. of Essex, Esq., at a yearly rent of £116 14s., payable "to the said Warden and Fellows, and their successors," twice a year.

It seems remarkable that Humphrey Chetham's lease, granted by the Warden only, should not have been the subject of litigation, but that suit after suit and almost interminable legal proceedings should have followed the second lease. The chief points of law involved were that the prior lease was not illegal, and that the Fellows had no power of themselves to enter under the latter because the Warden had a negative voice against them. The opinion of the Lord Chief Baron was that the Fellows having no affirmative voice without the Warden to demand the said rent or to make entry, could take no advantage of the lease during the then Warden's life, but that they might enter afterwards, with the approbation of another Warden but not before, because of the word "successors," if the Warden should die before the

expiration of the lease and the rent be unpaid. Sir Richard Murray availed himself of his power, and the Fellows were greatly impoverished, and almost ruined.

Coventry and Fanshaw afterwards, but probably not immediately, transferred their interest in the residue of the term of their lease to Humphrey Chetham, and on the 3rd November, 1632, the Warden gave a receipt to him for the first of five years rent due to him, and year after year the rents were regularly paid and the receipts transmitted. Dr. Hibbert Ware knew nothing of these transactions and, vindicating the mercenary and dishonest Warden, attributes all malappropriation of the revenue, if any there were, equally to the Fellows and their Capitular head.

The inefficiency and rapacity of Warden Murray and the poverty of the clergy were brought unreservedly under the notice of the Privy Council in 1633. An earnest appeal was made in behalf of the College by Humphrey Chetham and the fullest investigation of its state humbly requested. From an interesting series of letters written from London by Mr. Richard Johnson to his friend Humphrey Chetham at Clayton Hall, it is obvious that the former was employed to give evidence before the Council, and especially to protect the interests of the Church in Manchester, and that the chief part of the expenses incurred was defrayed by the latter. He was also empowered to employ Counsel and to use all necessary means to defend the cause entrusted to him.

So momentous an affair could not be viewed without alarm by Archbishop Laud, who in the preceding year had succeeded Abbot in the Primacy, and who took an active part in the proceedings of the Privy Council. His vigorous mind saw that an unsparing hand, and not temporary expedients, were required to preserve the crumbling institution from the mismanagement of its incompetent and incorrigible Governors.

Mr. Chetham having no sympathy with either nonconformists or recusants, and being fully aware of the gross irregularities

prevailing in his parish and collegiate church, did not leave her pale, but endeavoured along with Mr. Johnson and it may be a few other loyal sons who remained devoted members of her communion, to redress the grievances which they so much deplored. It has been already named that some of the Clergy were totally unfitted for their office, not being even favourable to Episcopacy, but advocating the Presbyterian form of religion with remarkable effrontery, and holding that spiritual resistance could not be put down by material weapons. The Chaplains, who were the vicars of the parish, seem to have taken no part in the choir services, which had been performed by the Fellows, and the choral service had been disused, and the surplice discarded for upwards of forty years,¹ and even a high churchman like Johnson had not dared to use it, although he had no scruple on the subject, owing to the intolerance of his colleagues against all the *retenta* of popery. Mr. George Chetham, it has been seen, wished to revive the early Morning Prayer in the choir, and to promote the early celebration of the Holy Communion, and two Chaplains had been endowed or paid by him for such services, and he had desired that the foundation should be permanent. Johnson referred to this in his petition to Archbishop Laud, but Mr. Chetham's sound and regular principles had been imperfectly adopted by the parishioners. Mr. Johnson had been cruelly aspersed by the Warden and his satellites, and some of the charges brought against him were afterwards ably refuted by himself. He, writing to Humphrey Chetham, stated what was well known to his correspondent, that the Warden, Mr. Peter Shaw, and the nonconformists had been his only enemies, and that a hundred men would prove it. Johnson, ever vigilant and active, remained for some time in London, and often appeared before the Council having two objects principally in view, first to secure the vindication of his own character and proceedings, which had been so wantonly assailed and aspersed, and next to secure the reorganization of the College in which he was warmly supported by

¹ *Funeral Certif.*, Chet. Soc., vol. lxxv. p. 77.

Mr. Humphrey Chetham. As regards the former his petition addressed to Laud is full and distinct. The petition is here given in extenso from the draft copy formerly in Mr. Chetham's possession.

Whereas a libell was exhibited to your Grace and y^e Lords referees in the Colledge Cause at y^e Counsell table against your poore petitioner accusinge him of divers disorders and offences against the Discipline of y^e Church, your Graces s^d petitioner doth humbly crave that this his defence may bee heard, wherein if hee bringeth not the testimony of y^e most honest men in y^e place above sayd to testifie what hee averreth in his defence and excuse, hee will most willingly submitt to all the punishments your grace shall inflict and will not desire to be counted a member of the Church of England w^{ch} hee professeth before all the Churches which Christ hath upon earth.

First, whereas hee is accused to receive greate somes of money to bee an irregular person among them, an hundred honest men shall testifie that he hath brought more nonconformists to obey the Churches discipline than any or all y^e fellowes of the Colledge have done these twenty yeares and in lue of any favour w^{ch} the people have shewed to him w^{ch} was nothinge like so much as was affirmed ; they have not s^o much as desired one houres tarriaunce amongst them.

That y^r petitioner hath constantly worne the surplace and hoode every holy day and worky day, unlesse it weare some one day or other in washinge or kept from him through y^e negligence of the clerk and that then hee did forbear to goe into the Quyer, that hee hath at six of y^e Clock reade morninge prayer accordinge to the Order approved of by Dr. Cousens, comissioner for y^e Lord Arch B. who appoynted the Chaplaynes to reade the Lessons who are hyred to reade prayers also at that tyme, and that els your petitioner did only expound analytically either a part or y^e whole of the Chapter appoynted for the day or some other Chapter, for halfe an houre or there aboutes, which was approved by the sayd Comissioner who promised to gett that course if hee could to bee further rectified, wherein your petitioner imitateinge the Example of his Reverend Diocesan did take occasion to vindicate the common prayer booke from unjust exceptions.

That never since y^e Order to y^e Contrarie did hee administer the sacrament to any out of y^e Quyer untill y^e Sunday before hee came nowe to London he administered y^e Cup to three or thereabouts who had before received the Sacrament of Christ his bodie nere [near] y^e Lords Table by y^e side of the Quyer and this because there was a publike fame that my Lord Arch Byshop had given licence so to doe and Mr. Shawes owne mother did affirme that her sonne had procured this by w^{ch} pretences your poore petitioner was entrapped.

That hee hath reade prayers at Gorton Chapell and preached and Catechized there w^{ch} hee is required to doe by the expresse letter of y^e Statute, but because they had noe surplace your petitioner did not weare any there in w^{ch} hee desireth your Graces pardon, and hee did not this to favour non-conformitie neither did hee seeke any comoditie from such people but w^{ch} hee is constrained to mention ; what monyes hee either hath received for his paynes or is promised hee hath given already and promised towards y^e erection of another Chapell in y^e Parrish w^{ch} is a Buildinge.

That your petitioners sole opposers except Mr. Warden and Mr. Shawe have bin non-conformists, and if it bee required an hundred honest men shall wittnesse that y^e sole or principall cause of Mr. Shawes dislike is not as hee pretendeth because of conformitie wherein hee doth egregiously wronge the Towne but because of obsanitie and paradoxes y^t God punisheth in heaven, and y^e like, &c.¹

On the first of May, 1634, Mr. Johnson addressed the following letter to Humphrey Chetham. The miserable want of order and conformity in the appointment of the Chapter clergy is referred to, and the Archbishop's shrewd advice to Johnson touching the *locus standi* of the Warden was not likely to be soon forgotten by Mr. Johnson.

Noble Sr

My humble respect and due thanks bee remembred to you for all your love, and amongst the rest of your favours I thanke you for your good counsell and warninge concerninge our subtile and

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 221.

wily enemye. I pray God blesse you. Sr I have had noe thinge worth y^e writeinge ; but thus far our enemyes have prevayled that I must not preach any more at Gorton without a surplesse, that I must not preach at sixe of Clock in a morninge at Manchester, that I must not administer y^e Sacrament to any out of y^e Queire wich is a greate abuse crept in since Mr. Peter was put out of his vice-wardenship, and ergo for sooth hee must or at most would have his maw agayne but stay there. But thus much our friends may knowe that as Mr. Warden hath been *soly versant* in this work of makeinge mee noe fellowe, hee hath had lesse successe then hee maliciously strove for together with his brethren in iniquitie. And in sue of my punishment I have thus much allowed mee and commanded also by his Grace of Cant. that if hee say I am noe fellowe I must say hee is noe Warden, if hee protest agaynst mee that I am noe fellowe, I must protest he is noe Warden, if hee enroll and make it a publike act that I am noe fellowe I must enroll it make a publike act that hee is noe Warden ; and whereas wee weare six tymes before y^e Lords before wee could bringe him to make Charles Leigh Receiver for y^e Colledge under y^e Chapter Seale, that is at length effected and I thinke hee will call on him for his arreare and certifie, soewe thinke, you Sr, and then marke what follows. And lastly wheareas all Reverend Peter's certificates and defamations of our Towne tended to y^e obtayment of his verge, Hee may nowe goe play at trapp with it, whatsoever was informed agaynst Peter was his personall miscarriage agaynst the Colledge, but hee must be *Diabolus fratrum* and accuse them about other matters, but I hope I am cleared by his graces owne mouth before y^e Lords and the Towne defended. Sr wheresoever I goe I meete your kindnesse and heere in London in your Cousen Mr. George Cheetam, unto whom I am much beholden, who doth most heartilie desire his humble and due respect may bee remembred to you, and I doubt not will deserve your love, his very good wife doth also remember to your selfe her duty. When I can I will come home and will in my place doe God and y^e people all y^e service I can unto whose gracious protection I comitt both you and them. Praying all wayes for you all.

Yours Richard Johnson.

May 1st 1634.

Sr. I received your letter and thank you for it. I pray goe to Mr. Wilm Radcliffe who hath *in scriptis* all our proceedeinges. I gave it him to impart it to my freindes and I tell you of it. God blesse you all wayes.¹

Mr. Peter Shaw, who only became a Fellow in 1633, was well disposed to exercise pre-eminence as Vice-Warden in the chapter house, the head of the Chapter always absent, and had an overweening opinion of his official dignity. He was a man vacillating and infirm of purpose. At one time he is found furthering the views of Bourne and the puritans, and at another paying servile court to Laud. On one occasion his irregularities in the Church are named, and instead of disregarding the reports and still seeking, with Johnson, to strengthen and consolidate the tottering College, he occupied his time and found enjoyment in bringing trivial specific charges against his honest colleague. It must be admitted that Johnson was a master of that species of irony which is the parent of taunts and gibes, and his remarks on pretentious Peter are sufficiently caustic, and it may be they were sufficiently merited. It is amusing to find Shaw attributing Johnson's opposition to some of his proceedings to that churchman's dislike of conformity!

On the 1st July following, Mr. Johnson, still being in London, was prosecuting the work in which Mr. Chetham took so deep an interest, but the progress was slow, and calm and dispassionate as he generally was, Humphrey Chetham was somewhat impatient of the delay, and Johnson writes to him,

Right Worth

All due service and respects premised. I am heartily sorrowfull that I have given you any offence in that I have made noe more speciall and particular accounts of my proceedeings heere; but I hope you will excuse mee when you have considered the uncertainty and changeablenesse of all things, I was affrayd to say to much I should make myselfe a newe labour to unsay it agayne, w^{ch} would have bin lesse for my credit then for my ease; I have heere

¹ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 82.

sent you downe y^e Decree of y^e Court, wherein you may be pleased to learne what was done, but whether any of this will stand except the Deprivation God knoweth, neither had that ever beene done whilst y^e world had stode had my paynes and charges and freinds also been the greater; ffor the charges w^{ch} wee shall bee allowed I suppose to bee Mr. Burnes his report; but I am perswaded we shall have never a peny. There is but an hundred mark allowed in all by y^e Court w^{ch} y^e officers conceive to bee by much too little for themselves. I made freindes so many and so often to Lords Grace that I for y^e present made him myne enymie about my charges. I confesse with that w^{ch} I borrowed when I came up it hath cost mee thirtie poundes since I came up, but I must bee content since God hath cast mee into these Troubles, I doe owe more to him then all this money cometh to, and myne honestie is more worth, and I thank God my credit is yett more worth; I have had small help heere, and your help and encouragement hath bin the greatest of any w^{ch} I have had from any creature, for which I rest your servaunt. Y^e Borrower is a servant to y^e Lender, and I shall as it is my duty ever pray for you, and if my neighbours doe not assist mee, I will with Gods Grace see you pay^d, only I crave your patience for a little tyme; I am as sorrowfull and as melancholy as may bee that I cannot come home yett, for if I should come before the Patent for y^e newe Foundation bee drawne, in the draweing whereof I think I shall have the greatest hand (but in this I desire to bee concealed), things may bee worse, and therefore though sorely agaynst my will I am constrayned to stay. The Wardens excommunication is taken off all ready, the mitigation of his fine is referred to y^e next Court day. I think it will bee taken all or for y^e most part all off, wee are like to have noe part thereof. Mr. Torkington is not in towne, Mr. Herrick nowe is not so like to bee Warden, if hee would stand to his patent hee might have it, but it is to be feared hee looketh for his proffit and will embrace other motions of y^e Arch Bpp about some patronage haply of more proffit, though less respect, and y^e Arch Bpp is unwilling hee should have y^e Wardenship I am sure, and it is uncertayne who shall have it. I pray God send us an honest man. Mr. Burne is never like to bee put in fellowe in y^e newe foundation as I heare; why I did not

bringe his non-conformitie uppon y^e stage was not done with out good counsell: why you shall heare. The leases are all on foote till they are entred uppon and proved to bee naught at y^e Common Lawe; this Court is not for such matters. But I doubt not but they will soone bee made voyd; if my plott holdeth it may hap to bee as good to bee fellowe of Manchester as Warden all things considered, it doth not I must submitt. I think wee shall have one of the halfe as much allowance from y^e Colledge as y^e Warden, and in elections shall bee able to make him doe what wee list, and y^e chaplaines places and singeing mens shall bee mended. Sr, concerning the Warden there is not much more newes in this letter then in y^e former, for all but his deprivation are uncertayne whether they shall stand or not. I pray Sr doe as much for this letter as I did for yours: sacrifice it to Vulcane. I am affrayd I shall not bee provided soone enough to preach at y^e Assizes. I doe suppose there is another by my Lord provided; but if it bee your pleasure to send mee word if there bee any other service to performe I think by y^e next I can give you an answer that I will be with you there. Thus with y^e remembrance of my love, service and all due thanks, I comend you to Gods mercy and protection, and rest

Your woꝛpps to be commaunded

Richard Johnson.

ffrom London

July the first 1634.

The warden is in for bastardy but that cause wants Johnson to followe it, and I doubt is not like to come to any thinge.

I have been y^e Deputie Sheriffe of Lancashire in y^e christeninge of Humphrey Cheetam of London and what belongs more to that deed then a deputie must doe I beseech you amongst y^e rest of your troubles to take upon yourselfe. Vale Ri. Johnson.¹

So great was the evil that the Council, influenced by the Archbishop, considered that it could only be dealt with by the King, and a new Charter was deemed a necessity. The liberality of Humphrey Chetham in chiefly furnishing pecuniary means for

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 84.

the grant of the Charter, the refoundation of the College, and the settlement of the suits, not only indicates the tone of his mind on church matters, but may be regarded as one of the most useful of his many good works. Bourne was so little of an English churchman that notwithstanding his zeal and popularity in Manchester, it was supposed that he was unlikely to be nominated Fellow on the new foundation, and Humphrey Chetham appears to have remonstrated with Johnson for omitting to bring his nonconformity "upon the stage," as it could not fail to prejudice him in the estimation of Laud. Chetham considered it to constitute so grave an offence that he was of opinion it ought to have been brought under the notice of the Privy Council. Johnson however cautiously acted upon the advice of his counsel, and promised in due time to furnish Mr. Chetham with the grounds. Laud was aware of the Presbyterian tendencies of Heyrick, and was so unwilling that he should become Warden that he even contemplated collating him to some better but less important benefice, of which Johnson and Chetham could not fail to approve. The leases granted by the Warden to Mr. Chetham and others seem to have been disregarded by Mr. Johnson, who thought they could be declared invalid at common law, but compensation was allowed to the lessees. Whilst Mr. Chetham had clear ideas on the spiritual independence of the Church he considered it to be the duty of the State to guard its temporal interests, and he was not disappointed.

Johnson, smarting from the autocratic proceedings of the obnoxious Warden, and Mr. Chetham sympathising with the impoverished clergy, were equally glad to find that in future elections there was a probability of the Fellows exercising a power in the Chapter which would enable them to control the Warden, although it may be feared that neither of them had learnt with a true Christian philosopher (whose "Resolves" were known at least to one of them), that men should see more than they expect, rather than look for more than they shall find.¹

¹ Owen Felltham's *Resolves*, 1631, Resolve cxxv.

The proverbial dilatory nature of legal proceedings harassed both Mr. Johnson and his Manchester friend, as we learn from a letter of the former, dated May 28th, 1635, so that nearly a year had elapsed since the last Act of the Council, and Johnson was again in London.

Right Worth

All due respects premised. God knoweth the issue of all things to whome wee must submitt (whose gracious help and furtheraunce in the Coll. cause I doe implore and desire yours and all good Christians' prayers); but there is hopes that there will bee a searchinge finall and determinative of y^e cause y^e fourth of June beeing Thursday. We have beene with my Lord's Grace about it and at my request and Mr. Cartwright's Sir John Lambe a high commissioner and Deane of the Arches, hath put it first on y^e Role to be heard, and sayth that hee was secured with my Lord's Grace and knoweth it to bee his pleasure, *in humanis tamen omnia sunt incerta*, God send help from heaven, and blesse your Worship and us all, and to whose gracious tuition I comend your selfe and rest

Your Woꝛppps in all due respects,

Richard Johnson.

May y^e 28th 1635.¹

The 4th June came and passed away, but there was no final hearing of the case, so that Mr. Johnson had only a small basis to sustain his hope, and it proved fallacious. The business, however, had not been left to take care of itself, and Mr. Johnson had the satisfaction of communicating to Mr. Chetham on the 12th July that important progress had been made, and that the draft of the new Charter of the College had been drawn, as he had formerly anticipated it would be, by himself, apparently at the request of the Archbishop and the other members of the Privy Council. It was Humphrey Chetham's wish that his great personal "loyalist" friend Mr., afterwards Sir, Orlando Bridgeman, the Lord Chief Justice, at that time a rising young lawyer, and son of the Bishop of Chester, the Visitor of the College, should be consulted. He held the Archbishop's Court, and was

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 106.

probably his general legal adviser. It will be observed that the Charter had received the benefit of his supervision, correction and general approbation.¹

Right Worth

My service and love remembred. It was comitted to mee to drawe y^e Charter of our Colledge foundation in Latine, it will bee eight sheetes of paper at least, w^{ch} nowe I have done and have had Mr. Bridgman's both correction of somethings and approbation of all the rest all ready and this Fryday morninge I have carryed it to Mr. Cathrop the Queenes Solicitor at y^e Temple who I think will approve of it, but when it cometh to the Lords God knoweth what acceptation it shall have for they have a world of businesse, and in a cursorie readeinge or hearinge there of may mistak or take offence at that which is not blame worthy. I have dealt with a good conscience in all mens places, though I would have the Warden's to bee somewhat lesse if it might bee for which it may bee I shall have small thanks from y^e succeedinge Warden whosoever hee bee ; Herrick I feare will bee bribed with some promise of a parsonage and if hee bee such a one it is noe matter if we misse of him. S^r I must die heerè in an ill successe or els live to see a good end which I pray God to graunt and I pray God to blesse you and your company ; I am most sorry that I cannot doe that service which I hoped to have done to you ; you have gone thus far well though I know it bee with greate charges and pray God ende all as well and bee with you nowe and allways.

Your Wo^rppps in all duty

Richard Johnson.

London

July y^e 12th²

Four days afterwards further information was sent to Clayton Hall, Mr. Chetham still taking the deepest interest in the all absorbing subject, and wishful that the work should be satisfactorily completed, nor were his wishes utterly Utopian.

¹ *Laud's Benefact. to Berks.*, by Bruce (Ashmol. Soc.), p. 28 n.

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 116.

Right Woꝛll

All due respects premised. I have drawne an newe Charter of y^e Colledge foundation with myne owne hands and have comended it to y^e Lords examination, it is nine sheetes of paper in Lattin, it hath beene examined and corrected in some particulars by Counsell, viz. Mr. Calthrop the Queenes Sollicitor, and Mr. Bridgman for whose love and paynes not only myselfe but our whole Towne are much indebted: while it is in y^e Lords hands I must wayte and submitt to there likeing and dislikeinge: but if ever it come agayne to myne owne to see it engrossed and enrolled I will with Gods grace make quick dispatch, God knoweth what charges I shall recover for certayne nowe from y^e Warden, hee will lye in prison till hee stinks before hee will pay y^e officers of y^e Court and y^e prison keeper intreates that hee may be ridd of him for hee can gett nothinge for his paynes and keepinge of him; I will use my best skill to gett some releife from out of y^e fines of w^{ch} without dispensation I can have none before y^e Church bee repayed, I will when I have done all things punctually present a complete Bill of my expenses and desire his Grace to doe with mee as hee pleases; as soone as ever I can I will tell you what in y^e newe pattent is approved off and what is disallowed, the meane tyme I shall pray God Allmightie to blesse you and your glorious attendants at y^e Assises and graunt you a saffe returne, and to redouble the Honour and Love which you hadd the last tyme; I am sorry I shall not salute Mr. Kenion and Mr. Croston there but am most of all sorrowfull that I have not y^e happynesse to doe you service there, this mittigates my grieve that heere I doe God and his Church service who I hope will ere longe release mee. I comend your Worpp to God's protection and rest

Your Woꝛpps in all due service

Ric. Johnson.

July 16th 1635.¹

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 118.

CHAPTER VI.

VIEWED in the light of subsequent events it is quite certain that Johnson entertained a high opinion of Laud's penetrating judgment and wonderful abilities, and whilst he gratefully recognised the technical improvements and provisors embodied in the Charter by the lawyers, he was not disposed at all to lessen the importance of the exercise of "my Lord Grace's power and wisdom upon it," the exact nature of which, it is much to be regretted, has not been recorded. Johnson, in his humourous vein, regarded the difficulties and labours, the vicissitudes and charges of the Charter, as worthy of being compared to the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral, which, at that time, was in progress. He writes to Mr. Chetham on the 22nd July—

Right Worth and much Honoured,

My service and humble thanks remembred, I have beene with my Lord's Grace of Canterburie and presented to him y^e Draught of y^e new foundation wch the Lord Privie Seale and y^e Lawyers have often corrected and (I must say) amended, and I beleive my Lord's Grace will shewe his power and wisdom uppon it, and then the King's attorney will have a fflinge at it and then y^e secretaries of State one of them must preferre it to the Kinge and then the Kinge if hee bee not too farr gone in progresse I hope will bee prevayled with to approve it, and then it must goe to y^e Signet office and then to y^e Lord Privie Seale againe and then to y^e Lord Keepers after it is engrossed and once also before and then it must bee enrolled in y^e Chauncery. Heere is the Buildinge of Paule's agayne, God help mee. Sr I tell you the worst, I hope the best will save it selfe. My Lord Privie Seale tells me I shall have recompence out of the fines or some howe (but I wish this letter burnt if I

esteeme of some men's words a shooe buckle). If the woorst come to y^e worst I will liveinge or dieinge make you satisfaction. I shall bee above fourty poundes in debt soone before I come home and you are myne only creditor. I have specialities at Goodman Chorleton's for moneys wch will pay both you and him, and the meane tyme I pray for you and comende you to God's protection. Restinge

Your Wořpps in all due service

Richard Johnson.

ffrom London

y^e 22th of July 1635.¹

From the following letter it is clear that Johnson had misapprehended for the moment the intentions of the Archbishop in connection with the College. Laud never acted without a motive. He dispassionately considered the merits of the case and felt that he had an obvious duty to discharge in preserving the just rights, not of the ruthless Murray, but of the Warden of Manchester, to enable him and his successors to support a becoming dignity in the midst of a large and wealthy community. Johnson's only weak point in connection with the transaction was his nervous fear of undue power being vested in the Warden. The Prelate, who told Heylyn, when he was appointed a Royal Chaplain, that the King did not love "silk and satin chaplains,"² would hardly seek to encourage extravagant pomp, and unnecessary display, or to encumber the Warden with too large an income.

Johnson had formed a right estimate of Warden Murray's present ignominious position and future prospects, and had no misgivings on the subject, but his tact and judgment failed him, and he did wrong to Laud by his unworthy suspicions. He was strongly opposed to Heyrick's supposed Presbyterian leanings, and deprecated his appointment as the head of the Chapter. On the 23rd July he wrote to Mr. Chetham—

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 120.

² Heylyn's *Hist. Reform.*, 1849; *Life*, vol. i. p. 68.

Right Wor^{ll}

My service and respect remembred. You heare reports that y^e Warden will come in agayne. I think it all most as unlikly as for a man if hee should with y^e devile have been cast into hell to come to heaven agayne; it is most unlikly I will not say impossible; for my charges if I have any releife it must bee out of y^e fines. I have in y^e Charter of y^e newe foundation submitted such a thinge to y^e Lords' consideration, and I doubt not but somewhat will bee graunted, but I believe not H. Earle of Manchester in all things, they are some of them too good. Hee sayd I should have all my charges out of y^e fines, and that y^e draught of y^e foundation wch hee and I weare a whole day examineing shall stand, but I feare y^e Arch Bpp for all his former shewes studdyes for y^e pomp of y^e future Warden and to pleasure some Chaplaynes of y^e Kings or his owne with y^e place. God bee mercifull unto us. God bee with you and your company and prosper you.

Your Worppes in all service

Rich. Johnson.

I am glad that your Worpp is so well provided as to have Mr. Jones with you.

July y^e 23, 1635.¹

In the next letter there seems to be an admission of some manœuvering in connection with the payment of fees in Mr. Johnson using Laud's name at the Patent Office. It is seen what a tower of strength that name was, and how it influenced the mercenary officials in repressing abuses.

Right Wor^{ll}

My humble service remembred. My Lord Pryvie Seale sayth I shall bee allowed out of y^e fines all my charges, Mr. George Cheetam and John Lightbound and myselfe went to knowe in y^e offices what y^e fees would exactly come to, and wee received it by two or three experienced witnesses that the fees for y^e letters patents would bee about an hundred and fourtie poundes, but I useinge my Lord Arch Bpp's name doe hope nowe (not knoweing anything for

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii, p. 121.

certaine) that halfe y^e mony will dischardge all my expences heere whatsoever; I have obtayned in y^e makeinge of y^e new Charter all that I knowe howe to desire, y^e Lords examination and the Aturneyes approbation, who had thirteene poundes from mee, is past, and I have received since I come to London last within y^e halfe yeare 40^{ty} poundes from Mr. Cheetam. I am yett within my power to pay, though men fayle mee. I must stay till y^e Kinge cometh agayne to London before I can have his hand or knowe who shall be Warden. The Charter must passe through three seales, and bee foure tymes transcribed in parchment or vellum yet more. Letters of sequestration of y^e tithes are in forgeinge. I use my skill. God blesse you.

Your Woꝛpps Debtor and thankfull servant

Rich. Johnson.

August y^e 7th:

The next letter which Humphrey Chetham received from his clerical friend, written in the heat of the contest, discovers Johnson's impatience and also the Archbishop's infirmity of temper, a well known failing in the character of this large-minded churchman. He knew that some of the puritans objected to the legislative capacity of the King, and some of them to the executive as well, and the expression, "In God's name do not hurry the King," probably expressed something more than the embarrassment in which the Archbishop found himself placed by the too urgent importunity of his young clerical suitor. The "some one" who feared that Heyrick would prove an anti-arminian may covertly refer to Laud. It is clear that he had discovered that Johnson himself had not, like the memorable John Hales of Eton at the Synod of Dort, said "Good night to John Calvin"; but that he, like Humphrey Chetham and the great body of the later Reformers, opposed the doctrine of the freedom of the will and the other arminian views of the Archbishop, which were erroneously associated by the prejudiced or ignorant with the worst errors of popery. And yet Johnson was neither a puritan

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 122.

nor a papist, and it is clear from his sermons still in manuscript¹ that he was like Hooker, Bishop Hall and Perkins, a sound doctrinal Calvinist, well acquainted with the writings of the early fathers, with ecclesiastical history, and with the discipline of the English Church, and would be regarded in our day as a learned and decided Anglican churchman. He had as determined opinions against separatists and in favour of episcopacy and a Church establishment as the Bishops themselves. Johnson and Laud had misunderstood one another, but they soon became reconciled on the most important subject, and the latter in the sequel discovered that he had mistaken Johnson's character and proceedings, which had been misrepresented to him. For calumniators to have described such a man to the Archbishop as "foolishly and peevishly bent against the Church" must have been one of the sorest of his trials, but the able vindication of himself in his "Petition" would carry conviction to the mind of Laud, who acted in the spirit of that incomparable sermon which he preached before the King in 1621, on the cxxii. Psalm, 6, 7.

Right Worth

My service premised, &c. It may seeme strange to yourselfe and some of neighbours, that things are so longe in doeing but it cannot possibly be holpen. The Arch Bpp hath beene sorely enraged at mee for hasteninge him so fast, and bids mee stay the king's leasure on God's name. If you bee pleased to knowe the truth, I feare some men have a mynd to put Mr. Herrericke besides the Wardenship for feare he should prove an Anti-arminian.

My Lords Grace hath most strange prejudices agaynst mee and sayth I am foolishly and peevishly bent agaynst the Church as hee heareth and beleiveth. I pray God bee mercifull to mee, it is if not all yet my principall care and endeavour to be serviceable to God's Church, But the idolatry and superstition of y^e Church of Rome I hate and I abhorre the Doctrine of free will or rather of selfe will; and if his Grace calls this a peevish disposition agaynst y^e Church, hee is not much deceived in mee, wheresoever hee learned it; I am

¹ In the library at Tabley House. Now printed in Raines' *Fellows of Manch. College* (Chet. Soc., N.S., vol. 21 p. 129).

in God's hands, so is hee and that is my comfort, beinge perswaded that God wills mee noe evil, unto whose grace and favour I comende you and rest

Your Woꝛpps in all due service

Richard Johnson.

From London y^e 25th

of August one thousand six hundred thirtie five.

So soone as the Kinge returnes backe agayne unto Hampton Court I will with Gods help make my Lord Privie Seale be meanes either to y^e Kinge or rather to my Lords Grace that the King's pleasure may be knowne who shall bee Warden that so wee may have his hand to y^e Patent

Your Woꝛpps Ric. Johnson.

I will procure a copy of y^e foundation to bee most correctly drawne for you when wee have y^e Kings hand.¹

For some time past Mr. Johnson has not breathed freely. Throughout the whole of his correspondence with Humphrey Chetham he has been in a whirl of emotion, despair, and hope, owing to the complicated difficulties he had to encounter. The duties entrusted to him by his lay friend had been exhausting, but at last, writing to Clayton Hall, he gives a succinct abstract of the provisions of the new Charter, and concludes his letters, toils and grave responsibilities, with a long sigh of relief. He and his good friend—for it is remarkable that no other layman is named as co-operating with Mr. Chetham—had accomplished much, in several respects, for the revival of the Truth and the stability of the Church, for which Manchester has scarcely been sufficiently grateful to their memory.

Right Worth

All due respects premised. I hope you have recieved the letter of sequestration sent downe by Mr. Buckley and hope also for a good issue concerninge it. I will endeavour to performe the contents of your last letter wherein I am more and more engaged for your love and care of mee. The Wardens allowance in y^e newe foundation is seaventy poundes per annum and noe more, some what lesse

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 132.

then y^e former foundation wages, each fellowes allowance is thirtie five per annum which is above ten poundes more then y^e foundation wages before, but if you put in the increment it is not above twenty shillinges more then bee fore ; and this increment I feare wee shall hardly gett of Dr. Murray the foundation beinge destroyed. The Chaplaynes allowance is seaventeene poundes ten shillings per annum besides y^e Church dues which the warden was wont to save which is above eight poundes per annum more then they had by the former foundation, but if you respect these ten poundes increment which y^e Warden promised to pay in consideration of his great lease and in consideration that hee kept y^e fellowes places voyd and they supplied the same, it is above twenty shillings lesse then they had in all before, the singingmen have ten poundes per annum about three poundes a peice more then they had before, and the Choristers five poundes per ann^m, twenty shillings a peice or more above what they had before ; but if y^e meanes of y^e Colledg reach to above y^e Summes afore sayd after the officers are all payd, then y^e Warden is to have twice so much thereof as one fellowe and no more and the Chaplaynes Singingmen and Choristers are to have an increment accordinge to y^e discretions of y^e Warden and fellowes. In election of fellowes and other businesses of the Colledge y^e Warden is bound uppon payne of expulsion to give his voyce with y^e greater number of y^e fellowes as also uppon payne aforesayd hee in y^e vacancy of a fellowes place is bound to call a Chapter about y^e electing of a newe fellowe within thirtie dayes after y^e vacancy shall bee made knowne to him, and then to give with y^e most voyces : but when a fellowes place is empty if two of y^e fellowes remayneing shall give there voyces one way and y^e Warden and y^e other fellowe give there voyces the other way, y^e voyces being even uppon both sides if noe man be chosen within two monthes it shall bee lawefull for y^e Kinge to choose whome hee will, so that hee bee Master of Arts or Batchelour of Lawes and Priest. The Warden must bee Batchelour of Divinity or of y^e Lawes Civil and Canon, y^e fellowes must be Masters of Arts or batchelours of Lawes as afore sayd at least. The Chaplaynes batchelours of Arts and Clerks, the Singingmen for y^e tyme to come may be clerks as well as laycks and preach if they can.

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Your woꝛpps in all due Service,
Richard Johnson.

September y^e 7th 1635.¹

The first step taken by the Privy Council was to issue on the 20th August, 1635, a letter of sequestration of the tithes included in Killigreave's lease, as it continued to be called, and Humphrey Chetham as the receiver of tithes belonging to the College, "heretofore let to one Killigreave and since kept from the College by colour of a lease got to the great prejudice of the College," was

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Humphrey Chetham now considered that the interests of others as well as his own might be compromised, and he addressed the following letter on the 10th Sept. to James, Lord Strange, regarding the tithes of Broughton and Cheetham included in Killigreaves' lease—

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² *Ibid*, vol. iii. p. 130.

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and so wishful was Mr. Chetham that the letter should be delivered personally to Lord Strange that he wrote to Mr. Marshall at Lathom House, requesting him to obtain access to Lord Strange for the special messenger sent by him for that purpose.¹ There was no hesitation on the part of Lord Strange in complying with the receiver's request.

At this juncture of affairs Humphrey Chetham was startled by the announcement that another and he an influential individual preferred a claim to some pecuniary interest in Killigreaves' lease, but by what title of law or justice has not been discovered. This was the Earl of Tullibardine, a relative of Warden Murray.² The Privy Council, it would appear, received his application, took his bond, examined his claim, and awarded him a portion of the sequestered tithe. The Privy Council's order³ was conveyed to Chetham with the following letter :—

Good Mr. Chetam, Altho unknown to you I have made choise of you to send you heare inclosed my Lord Keeper's and my Lord Privie Seale's order concerninge the money that remaines in your hands off Killigreaves Lease which once did belonge to my Coosen Dean Murray and put over to mee by my Lord Keeper and Sir Thomas ffanshawe as ffeoffees in trust ffor him, having payed valuable consideration to him for the same . . .

Tullibardin.

Theobold's Park, the 25th July 1636.⁴

The rent paid by Chetham for the tithe of Killigreaves' lease was £300 a year. He had paid £116 14s. to Boardman, one of the Fellows, before Lord Tullibardine's letter was received, and on 12th August he forwarded the balance of the year's rent, £183 6s., to his cousin George in London for payment to his

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After the deprivation of Richard Murray, the Warden, and before the completion of the new charter, some existing inconveniences in detail were stated and their removal prayed for, and some further powers solicited, in the following petition, which was presented by the Fellows :—

To the most Reverend Father in God William Lo : Arch B^{pp} of Cant : his Grace Primate and Metropolitan of all England.

To the Right Ho^{ble} Thomas Lo. Coventrie Lo. Keeper of y^e Great Seale of England.

To the Right Ho^{ble} Henry Earle of Manchester Lo. Privy Seale L^{lds} Referees in the cause of Manchester Coll.

The humble petition of the fellowes of Christs College in Manchester Humbly sheweth

Whereas the Justice of the Ho^{ble} Court of High Commission, hath deprived Dr. Murray of the Wardenship of o^r Colledge, and so delivered our Church and Society from the cause of their both ruine and misery, which Benefitt yo^r Lo^{ps} petitioners shall ever acknowledge with all humilitie and thankfullnes, And whereas our Colledge hath received so many wounds, and so mortall, that shee

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 170.

³ *Ib.*, vol. iii. p. 216.

² *Ib.*, vol. iii. p. 192.

⁴ *Ib.*, vol. iii. p. 198.

cannot recover himself, unless yo^r Lo^{ps} be pleased to give hir life againe, by a newe Restaura^on and the supplie of a better head, Considering that your petitioners cannot let Leases, nor take fines, whereby they may repaire the dangerous ruines of the Church, which by delay will be more dangerous, Nor seeke for the Coll. revennues uniustly withholden, Nor releve the distresses of the Companie, some wherof without speedy help cannot subsist, having spent their meanes in the Colledge cause, neither have hopes to receive costs of suite for a long tyme, Neither can wee come to know all the writings which Dr. Murray hath taken away, a note wherof wee heere is in the Colledge Chest, w^{ch} we dare not open before wee have some authorizment from y^r Lo^{ps}, or the Colledge be some way settled.

Wherefore yo^r Graces and Hon^{rs} Petitioners (who otherwise must needs be still at more expences and charges without anie help) humble crave as speedy a Restaura^on of our Colledge, as the waigtie affaires wherein your L^{ps} are engaged will permit.

And wee yo^r L^{ps} petitioners with many thousands besides shall be still bound to pray for yo^r L^{ps} health and happiness.¹

The Charter, amended and modified, was granted, and after all Heyrick was appointed Warden. Although he was avowedly an episcopalian and a royalist, he afterwards joined the presbyterians and took the Covenant ; but at the restoration he became again a royalist and retained the wardenship. As a proof of Laud's forbearance, Bourne and Peter Shaw, hardly on the ground of personal merit and fitness, retained their fellowships, and Boardman and Johnson theirs. Considerable sums were now expended in restoring the dilapidated fabric, and the date, 1636, still remaining in the east end of the choir, seems to record the time when the necessary works were completed. It was at the very time of the revival of that "beauty of holiness" which Laud and Herbert advanced, and which Johnson brought forward in the Collegiate Church, as a distinctive feature, only to fall down in a few years afterwards before the great political event

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which revolutionized the State, and for a season changed the character both of the Church and clergy.

How long Humphrey Chetham continued the Receiver of the College revenues is unknown. On the 20th Dec., 1637, "Rents for y^e College Use" were paid to him by Mr. Gilliam and Peter Stanley; but in Nov., 1639, "John Leigh the Bailiff" for the College received the rents.¹

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iv. p. 22.

[illegible]

but he was none the less willing and ready at all times to do his duty as a citizen, and to prove his loyalty as a faithful subject of the King. Besides knighthood at that time had become a means of public oppression, and was unpopular. Sir David Foulis, who had accompanied James I. to England, advised a friend to resist the Commission issued to compel gentlemen to compound for neglecting to receive knighthood. For this offence he was brought before the Star Chamber, deprived of his office of Treasurer to the Prince, sent to the Fleet and fined £8000, and his son and heir was also sent to prison and fined in the lesser sum of £500.¹ Mr. Chetham well knew that it was perilous to resist the honour, but more perilous still not to compound. This remnant of feudal times required all men having £20 a year in land to receive knighthood and thereby be compelled in war to find soldiers. In the seventeenth century this £20 was equal to £200, but Elizabeth and James I. summoned only those who had £40 and upwards, or to compound for their neglect. Charles did the same; but compulsory knighthood was abolished in 1641.² A messenger appeared at Turton, and not finding Mr. Chetham at home left the following ill-written letter for him :³

Mr. Humphrey Chetham of Turton

You are by virtue of a Warrant directed to me from the Lords of the Most Honourable Privy Council being Commissioners appointed by His Majesty's Commands to Compound with those not appearing at His Majesty's Crowndonacon to take upon them the Order of Knighthood. You are therefore to appeare before their Lordships at Whitehall on the xxth day of October next : whereof you are not to fayle as you will answere the contrary at your perill. Dated at yo^r howse this 30th day of August 1631.

Your loving friend to Comand

Franncis Taylor.

One of the Messengers of His Majesty's Chamber.

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 5th Ser., vol. vi. p. 366.

² Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, 1884, vol. ix. p. 417.

³ *Chetham MSS.*

In 1634 Mr. Chetham learnt with regret that he had been selected by the Chancellor of the Duchy for the distinguished office of High Sheriff of the County Palatine, and wishing to escape the perilous honour, addressed the following letter to his friend Mr. Banister of Breightmet, an officer of the Court of the Duchy, requesting his influence with Lord Newburgh, the Chancellor, to withdraw his name, and to appoint a gentleman to whom the honour might be more acceptable :

“ Noble Sir,

My due respects premised &c. Soe it is that a report suddenlie bruted abroad which comes to mee by the relaçon of your brother Mr. Rich. Bannester puts mee in some jealousie that I am in the waie to bee Sheriffe, which although the consideraçon of my unworthines (mee thinks) might correct the conceit, yet out of the observaçon of former tymes wherein this eminent office hath falne verie lowe, I cannot presume of freedome, but I am confident out of your ancient professed friendship, you will not bee the instrument to bring mee uppon the Stage, nor yett if there shall be neede of you, that you will stand as nutor ; but that’s not all, for my earnest desire is (seeing that power is in your hands) that you would stand betwixt mee and danger, that if anie putt me forward, that you will stand in the waie and suffer mee not to come in the ranke of those that shall be presented to the King’s view ; whereby I shall bee made more popular, and thereby more subject to the perill of hear-after Tymes. I am ashamed to expresse what a burthen this honor would bee to mee, therefore, good Sir, let it light where it maie be more welcome, and so I shall rest in peace,

Your safe and ever thankfull friend,
to bee comāded,

Humfrey Cheetam.”¹

Mr. Chetham found that his remonstrances were useless, and being an independent supporter of the Court measures, he was confirmed in his office by the King. The duties proved to be irksome, laborious, and responsible, and he rightly predicted that the honour would be to him a burden.

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 186.

One of his first communications was from the late Sheriff, Ralph Standish, Esq., dated 12th Nov., 1634, informing him that the King's Writ of Discharge of his (the writer's) Shrievalty had been received, and that he now forwarded to Mr. Chetham His Majesty's commission.¹

Like the famous citizen of "credit and renown," the Sheriff had a thrifty mind, and on the 3rd Feb., 1634-5, he sent his steward, Mr. James Walmsley, of Turton, to Lancaster, to make such terms as he might be able with Mr. Thomas Covell, keeper of the castle, for "Tabling and Regaling the Sheriff, the Judges and their respective retinues during the Assizes." He was informed that the charges for the culinary operations would be similar to those paid by the last Sheriff, although it was added that all kinds of provisions were never dearer nor "worse to come by;" nevertheless, continued the important officer, "I will rely upon your noble disposition and the bearer's word herein."² The Sheriff provided "table linen, wine, venison, and plate" for himself and the Judges. His twenty gentlemen, and forty others in his suite "wearing his coate" or livery, were apparently provided for by Mr. Covell, so that the High Sheriff ascertained what his exact financial position would be. Sir Cecil Trafford applied to the High Sheriff to appoint Mr. John Rogerson, a kinsman of his own and a clerk of the Chancery of the Duchy, as Under Sheriff, or to join him with a co-partner, so that he might have a moiety of the benefit, and the security should be according to the Sheriff's own desire. The appointment was made, but it does not seem that Sir Cecil guaranteed that his kinsman was well skilled in legal points, although he avouched him to be "a very honest man."

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 90, printed in Whatton's *Chetham Hospital*, p. 243.

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 78. For an account of Mr. Farington's munificent hospitality and liberal provision during his Shrievalty in 1636, see *Farington Papers*, Chetham Series, 1856. The judges on circuit and their attendants were entertained by the Sheriff until the Statute 13 and 14, Char. 2, c. 21. The great and unnecessary charges in the time of Assizes had "of late years" been claimed as a right, and were found very burdensome to the gentry, which led to the passing of the Act.

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¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iv. p. 22.

CHAPTER VII.

IT has been observed that the man who is best fitted for a place of honour seldom seeks it but is sought out for it, and it is certain that Humphrey Chetham, fitted as he was for public honours and dignities, never sought, but rather avoided them. It is doubtful whether he was in the Commission of the Peace for the County, a rare distinction in his day, but there is an indorsement, which is obviously in his hand writing, on the back of an official document which seems to prove that he held the King's commission. It is on a broad-side "Proclamation of Parliament disannulling £3336 demanded by Letters from the King on the 11th Feby. and Letters from the Council of the 12th Feb. 1626-7 for the furnishing of the Royal Navy," and runs thus:— "*Wee Justices P. met at Wigan and received this Proclam. there, when Wee thought what to do in Answer to His Majesties Letters.*" Owing to their opposition to the Court demands, many Justices at this time were struck off the Commission; but had Mr. Chetham been a magistrate he was not likely to have resisted the obligations which the office was supposed to involve.

When the titular nobility of knighthood was placed at his acceptance he declined the honour of ranking amongst the *nobiles minores* of the kingdom as a "belted knight," and submitted to the penalty imposed, which was said to be what the ministers of a necessitous King had principally in view. The title was neither a badge of merit nor a mark of honour, but as a social distinction it was one which a loyal subject and a well educated man might have considered of some value. His simple habits and general pursuits were probably considered by him incompatible with it;

but he was none the less willing and ready at all times to do his duty as a citizen, and to prove his loyalty as a faithful subject of the King. Besides knighthood at that time had become a means of public oppression, and was unpopular. Sir David Foulis, who had accompanied James I. to England, advised a friend to resist the Commission issued to compel gentlemen to compound for neglecting to receive knighthood. For this offence he was brought before the Star Chamber, deprived of his office of Treasurer to the Prince, sent to the Fleet and fined £8000, and his son and heir was also sent to prison and fined in the lesser sum of £500.¹ Mr. Chetham well knew that it was perilous to resist the honour, but more perilous still not to compound. This remnant of feudal times required all men having £20 a year in land to receive knighthood and thereby be compelled in war to find soldiers. In the seventeenth century this £20 was equal to £200, but Elizabeth and James I. summoned only those who had £40 and upwards, or to compound for their neglect. Charles did the same; but compulsory knighthood was abolished in 1641.² A messenger appeared at Turton, and not finding Mr. Chetham at home left the following ill-written letter for him :³

Mr. Humphrey Chetham of Turton

You are by virtue of a Warrant directed to me from the Lords of the Most Honourable Privy Council being Commissioners appointed by His Majesty's Commands to Compound with those not appearing at His Majesty's Crownonaçon to take upon them the Order of Knighthood. You are therefore to appeare before their Lordships at Whitehall on the xxth day of October next : whereof you are not to fayle as you will answere the contrary at your perill. Dated at yo^r howse this 30th day of August 1631.

Your loving friend to Comand

Franncis Taylor.

One of the Messengers of His Majesty's Chamber.

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 5th Ser., vol. vi. p. 366.

² Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, 1884, vol. ix. p. 417.

³ *Chetham MSS.*

In 1634 Mr. Chetham learnt with regret that he had been selected by the Chancellor of the Duchy for the distinguished office of High Sheriff of the County Palatine, and wishing to escape the perilous honour, addressed the following letter to his friend Mr. Banister of Brightmet, an officer of the Court of the Duchy, requesting his influence with Lord Newburgh, the Chancellor, to withdraw his name, and to appoint a gentleman to whom the honour might be more acceptable :

“ Noble Sir,

My due respects premised &c. Soe it is that a report suddenlie bruted abroade which comes to mee by the relaçon of your brother Mr. Rich. Bannester puts mee in some jealousie that I am in the waie to bee Sheriffe, which although the consideraçon of my unworthines (mee thinks) might correct the conceit, yet out of the observaçon of former tymes wherein this eminent office hath falne verie lowe, I cannot presume of freedome, but I am confident out of your ancient professed friendship, you will not bee the instrument to bring mee uppon the Stage, nor yett if there shall be neede of you, that you will stand as nutor ; but that's not all, for my earnest desire is (seeing that power is in your hands) that you would stand betwixt mee and danger, that if anie putt me forward, that you will stand in the waie and suffer mee not to come in the ranke of those that shall be presented to the King's view ; whereby I shall bee made more popular, and thereby more subject to the perill of hear-after Tymes. I am ashamed to expresse what a burthen this honor would bee to mee, therefore, good Sir, let it light where it maie be more welcome, and so I shall rest in peace,

Your safe and ever thankfull friend,
to bee comāded,

Humfrey Cheetam.”¹

Mr. Chetham found that his remonstrances were useless, and being an independent supporter of the Court measures, he was confirmed in his office by the King. The duties proved to be irksome, laborious, and responsible, and he rightly predicted that the honour would be to him a burden.

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 186.

One of his first communications was from the late Sheriff, Ralph Standish, Esq., dated 12th Nov., 1634, informing him that the King's Writ of Discharge of his (the writer's) Shrievalty had been received, and that he now forwarded to Mr. Chetham His Majesty's commission.¹

Like the famous citizen of "credit and renown," the Sheriff had a thrifty mind, and on the 3rd Feb., 1634-5, he sent his steward, Mr. James Walmsley, of Turton, to Lancaster, to make such terms as he might be able with Mr. Thomas Covell, keeper of the castle, for "Tabling and Regaling the Sheriff, the Judges and their respective retinues during the Assizes." He was informed that the charges for the culinary operations would be similar to those paid by the last Sheriff, although it was added that all kinds of provisions were never dearer nor "worse to come by;" nevertheless, continued the important officer, "I will rely upon your noble disposition and the bearer's word herein."² The Sheriff provided "table linen, wine, venison, and plate" for himself and the Judges. His twenty gentlemen, and forty others in his suite "wearing his coate" or livery, were apparently provided for by Mr. Covell, so that the High Sheriff ascertained what his exact financial position would be. Sir Cecil Trafford applied to the High Sheriff to appoint Mr. John Rogerson, a kinsman of his own and a clerk of the Chancery of the Duchy, as Under Sheriff, or to join him with a co-partner, so that he might have a moiety of the benefit, and the security should be according to the Sheriff's own desire. The appointment was made, but it does not seem that Sir Cecil guaranteed that his kinsman was well skilled in legal points, although he avouched him to be "a very honest man."

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 90, printed in Whatton's *Chetham Hospital*, p. 243.

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 78. For an account of Mr. flarington's munificent hospitality and liberal provision during his Shrievalty in 1636, see *flarington Papers*, Chetham Series, 1856. The judges on circuit and their attendants were entertained by the Sheriff until the Statute 13 and 14, Char. 2, c. 21. The great and unnecessary charges in the time of Assizes had "of late years" been claimed as a right, and were found very burdensome to the gentry, which led to the passing of the Act.

The High Sheriff lost no time in appointing his Chaplain, and selected for the office his learned friend Mr. Richard Johnson, Fellow of the Collegiate Church, who was at that time in London on the business of the Charter. In July, 1635, he wrote to Mr. Chetham saying "I am afraid I shall not be provided soon enough to preach at the Assizes. I suppose however there is another (chaplain) by my Lord [Newburgh] provided ; but, if it be your pleasure to send me word, if there be any other service to perform, I think by the next Assize I can give you an answer that I will be with you then."

On the 3rd January, 1634-5, Sir Cecil Trafford hoped to be excused by the High Sheriff for sending venison so late, for in truth he was ashamed that his keeper could do no better, although he had Mr. Fox to help him. He had in recompense of the Sheriff's patience sent him a quarter of a hind, and if more venison was needed the knight added, "I praye let me knowe, and you shall have (it) as soone as itt will be kild."¹

Lord Strange also had ordered venison to be sent from Lathom House for the coming banquets. His lordship's servant, Mr. George Marshall, wrote on the 24th March, "I will not (if God will) be unmindful of Venison for you against the next Assize. I suppose a brace of Bucks at least."²

Mr. Chetham, in entering upon his office, engaged his nephew George Chetham, who lived in London, to procure him such articles for his wardrobe as could not be obtained in Manchester, and also beer and wine, but it may be assumed only for his own table.³

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 67.

² *Ib.*, p. 80.

³ Mr. George Chetham has recorded various commissions which he executed about this time in London for his uncle :

1634, May 14, P^d Mr. Grealey for 13 Barrells of Beare 3li. 18s. od. 1635, Apr. 4, P^d Mr. Dennser for 9 q^r and $\frac{1}{2}$ of Gould Lace for my Uncle, Sher. of Lanc., 2 12 o. 25 July, for 3 half Ells of Gould Lace for my Uncle Humfrey Cheetham, 5/- Nov. 7, P^d Mr. Wilson for 6 gallous and 5 pints of Canary Sack for Humfrey Chetham, 2 o o. Apr. 12, P^d Mr. Pickheame the Taylor, £4 o o ; more pay^d him for work for my Uncle Humfrey C., 4 17 o. 14th for my Uncle Humfrey C. for 8 Laces and Bands, 4 8 o. May 2, P^d for 6 yds of Cloth for my Uncle Humfrey C., 5 8 o. P^d for a Hatt for my Uncle Humfrey, 5/- 200 of London Pippins sent in Wool Packs.—*Cash Book.*

The Judges and the High Sheriff rode on horseback, accompanied by the county magistrates. The halbert men and others, amounting to near one hundred, wearing the Sheriff's "cloth," or livery, preceded by trumpeters "in scarfs and ribbins," entered the county town in formal procession, being met at Lancaster by the Vicar, Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councillors. Certain doles were distributed by the Sheriff to the bell ringers at Garstang, the poor of Preston, and the "waits" at Lancaster, as well as to the poor prisoners in the Castle. And of all that great assembly probably not one felt more keenly alive to the wants and sufferings of humanity, which had called them together, than the High Sheriff.

He did not forget what was due to his office and high social position, and seems to have had some reasonable delectation in his habiliments appearing in "gold lace," in his "best velvet suit," his lace collar and shoe rosettes, which, along with his "hat and feather," would be brave apparel. Doubtless many an old observant Manchester puritan in his dun Geneva cloak and linen turn-over would moralize on the perils of "outward adorning," and the follies and inconsistencies of "the latter days." Nor may we omit to notice that his feasting was munificent, hospitable, and suitable for the occasion, but nothing was sacrificed to the pursuit of pleasure.

At the same time that Mr. Standish forwarded the King's Commission to Mr. Chetham he enclosed with it an important letter from the Lords of the Privy Council requesting the new Sheriff to adopt measures to provide a ship of war for the defence of the kingdom. Mr. Standish seems to have been on friendly terms with his successor, and gave some suggestions for his guidance in the matter and expressed great confidence in his alacrity and loyalty.

Mr. Chetham was quite aware of the unpopularity of the measure, and knew the opinion of Sir Randal Crewe on the legal, and that of Mr. Hampden on its political aspect, but he did not hesitate to execute what seemed to him to be a plain

and obvious duty. His "notes" on the subject show that he had well considered it in some of its bearings, and he proceeded, as a loyal subject of his sovereign, to adopt such measures as were necessary to raise money for the purchase of a ship of war. On the same day that he received Mr. Standish's letter he summoned the magistrates to meet the Sheriffs of Cheshire and Cumberland, and the mayors of Liverpool, Lancaster, and Carlisle, at Warrington, that being a central place, on the last day of December, to take speedily into consideration the furtherance of "so waigtie a busnesse."

The Privy Council had provided in their writ that the clergy as a body should be assessed and taxed with discretion and forbearance, and Mr. Chetham took special care in his warrants to charge his officers that "all due respect should be paid to their persons and callings." There is no reason to doubt that his generous injunctions were carried out, and that the clergy were "very friendly and favourably dealt with." It is hardly to be wondered at that the Lancashire clergy, forming a portion of the poorest diocese in the kingdom, and very few of their benefices amounting to livings, should have felt the smallest tax as something like a burden, especially when it is considered—and this was really the grievance—that at that time they taxed themselves in Convocation for the purposes of the State. Loud remonstrances followed, without their loyalty or fidelity being impaired, and Archbishop Laud and the Privy Council found it requisite to call upon the High Sheriff to supply, "with all convenient dispatch," an account of the exact sums contributed by the clergy for the shipping, in order that the reasonableness of their complaints and the inaccuracies or misrepresentations of others might be investigated.

The information was not obtained as quickly as the urgency of the case seemed to demand, and the Sheriff anticipating the impatience at head quarters, wrote on the 8th March, that some delay was inevitable, as he dwelt sixty or seventy miles from some parts of the County but that as soon as the certificates

from the several parish officers were returned they should be dispatched to the Council "as speedily as possible." He also added, "in the mean time lest your Lordships should think me negligent or remiss in this service I thought it my duty to certify you of my proceedings herein, humbly craving your Lordships' favour and patience until I can by my best endeavours accomplish the same."

The "returns" were made shortly after his last letter to the Council, as on the 12th March, he wrote again to the same, observing:—

I made the taxation according to an ancient Rule whereby all Lays and Taxes have been assessed gathered and approved under the hands of the Lieutenants, Justices, and other head officers of the County, and being myself particularly acquainted with the several Hundreds, I doe think most equall for any thing I can discern. The Boroughs and Corporate towns, at our first Convention, were assessed by mutual consent and agreement such as was then thought most equal and indifferent. The Clergie likewise, as I gave special charge in all my Precepts to the High Constables and other officers, should have all due respect paid to their persons and callings, soe I do believe they have verie friendly and favourably dealt with them.

Mr. Chetham had been charged with partiality, arbitrary conduct, and an indiscriminate mode of assessment, and injustice and inequalities were reported to have been the consequence. His vindication of himself is complete. The whole sum produced by the assessment was £3,500, and of this the clergy contributed *in toto* £57 2s. There were only twelve livings in the whole county of Lancaster which contributed more than 20/- each; many of them paid from 2/- to 10/- and most of them, owing to Mr. Chetham's sympathy with the actual necessity of the clergy, made no contribution at all. All the original returns are still preserved.¹

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. 5. These are printed by Canon Bridgeman in "Miscellanies relating to Lancashire and Cheshire," Record Society, vol. xii. pp. 106-114.

Humphrey Chetham wrote a very minute and interesting matter of fact account of the difficulties he had to encounter in connection with this unpopular tax, which elaborate statement he presented to the Council. The original draft was carefully prepared by him, and afterwards amended and corrected by Sir John Bramston, to whom he had submitted it. He says :—

“ . . . I took good advice and exercised great circumspection and the Assessors did the same . . . yet manie and greevous complaints were made by all sorts of people especiallie the Clergie and poorer sort, of the unequall dividing and distributing of the Assessment unto particular persons, manie denying and withholding payment, which principallie and above all other interruptions did most retard the service which myself as a stranger both to their persons and abilities, I could not judge and determine of, but rather thought it most agreeable to the good success of the [King's] service to pursue your Lordships' direction . . . and to remove such impediments. Severall daies almost in everie week [were] thus spent, both by myself and other officers interested in this service. . . . I went thither [to Preston] and took with me such assistance for the safe conveyance of such a charge as was meet to my own house, where expecting that money should readily have come to my hands. I mett with nothing for the first 2 daies but complaints and loude exclamations against unjust and unequall taxations, by particular men in their owne behalf. So soon as I had appeased the tumult and reduced the confusion unto some order I cald the High Constables (so many as were there) to give an accompt how they had collected their severall sūmes given them in charge . . . where I found a generall defect, none of them having received the aforesaid sums . . . which they did stronglie avouch was no neglect or remissness in them, but rather in the Sub-Constables who had not brought it to their hands. The Sub-Constables likewise for their own excuse protested that though they had given all diligence to have collecting the money yett some nonsolvents which they were forced to distraine and some refractorie persons which they could not find, nor yet goods to distraine, and other indigent persons which have not wherewithall to paie, had beene the cheife impediments in the service, which to helpe I took such course as the present necessity

required, whereby with much advice in several days I gayned the receipt of the totall sūme that was charged upon 4 of the hundreds in the Countie. . . . The other 2 hundreds having made litle proceeding in the service assigned to them craved 20 daies longer tyme for theire payments, w^{ch} I was forced to grant . . . at which tyme with much difficulty (as they protested) they brought all the rest for the Countye . . . except onlie some verie poore, for small sōmes. . . .

He concluded by asking for directions where and to whom the £3,500 so collected must be paid.¹

So anxious was the Sheriff that the first instalment of the Ship-money which he had received should not remain in his hands that he requested Counsellor Lightbowne, at his chambers in Gray's Inn, to ascertain if it could not be immediately paid to the Treasurer. On the 13th Nov. Mr. Lightbowne replies, "I shall certify you as soon as I can understand hereof. I know your desire will be to be one of the first, but the last time we were soe forwards that wee made way for all the rest, which was most difficult to us, for wee were before the Lords about itt."²

On Dec. 10th, 1635, Nicholas, the clerk to the Council, wrote to Mr. George Chetham, as factor to the High Sheriff of Lancashire, desiring an account of the money transmitted by the Sheriff, and the reason why it was not paid in to the Treasurer to the Navy. Three days later, after an interview with George Chetham, Nicholas reports that the factor had received bills for the whole sum charged upon the county, and would begin to pay the same on Friday.³

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 37. See also *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1635, p. 568; and Bruce's Preface. The letter was dated Dec. 16, 1635, from Clayton. Mr. S. R. Gardiner in his *History of England* (vol. viii. p. 92, ed. 1884), has the following: "Much depended on the character of the Sheriffs. In Lancashire, Humphrey Chetham, whose name will ever be honoured in Manchester, was Sheriff for the year. He sent at once for the Mayors and Constables, settled the assessment in a rough and ready fashion, refused to listen to excuses, and collected and sent up the money to Whitehall before the end of the year. Few of the Sheriffs were so prompt or masterful as Chetham."

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 152; Whatton's *Hist. of Chetham's Hosp. and Libr.*, p. 155.

³ *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1635, pp. 549, 555.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN a candid and thoroughly explicit letter to Lord Newburgh, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and a Privy Councillor, Chetham says :—

“The 11th daie of this instant Januarie [1635-6] I received a lre from his Māties most hon^{ble} privie Counsell dated the 23rd of December last whereby and by my Cosen Cheetam his relaçon I find myselfe in speciall manner bound to your Lordship for your Lordships good opinion and report of mee, and likewise to the rest of theire Honors for representing my weake service unto his Maīe by there comēdaçons w^{ch} Lre as a testimonie of his Māties gracious acceptance of my poore (but best) endeavours doth much rejoyce me. But perceiving by my Cosen his Lre some whispering aspersions intimating my unfaithfull dealing in the execuçon of his Māties Writt & that (either in neglect of the service of so waighty importance or for my owne advantage) I have received and kept back the Ship Money in my hands from Mic'lmas untill almost Christmas. Perceiving likewyse that your Lordship hath heard that I have levied a sūm of money over and beside the 3,500^{li} imposed upon our County of Lancaster with the Corporate & Burrough Townes therein, and the same sūm or part thereof reserved unto myself and my owne benefitt. Of both w^{ch} things being sensible to my great grieffe, I humblie crave y^r Lordships favourable admittance of theise few lines for clearing of my innocencie therein & y^r Lordships satisfacçon. True it is that in the beginning of November last in one weeke I receaved the sum of 2,000^{li} or thereabout of the Ship money, and the same sūm the same week and the week following I paid out to Tradesmen in and about Manchester to bee returned and paid to my kinsman in London the latter end of November and beginning of December following because at shorter

tyme they would not undertake the return thereof. The other part of the ship money being about 1,500^{li} came to my hands the latter end of November and beginning of December, all excepting 200^{li} w^{ch} I rec^d not untill 10 daies after all the rest, w^{ch} money I likewyse forthwth paid wthout detaining any part thereof in my hands the space of 2 daies or anie benefitt thereby & took bills of Exchange for the same payable about the 20th & latter end of December as by the same bills of Exchange may yett be manifestly prooved. And furthermore (my Lo.) it is likewyse true that at the same time that I made an Assessment of the County by our booke of Rates w^{ch} is our rule and guide in all our Leyes and Assessments, and by the assistance of my neighbours the Justices of the Peace S^r Cecill Traford, Mr. Ashton de Middleton, Mr. Greenehalgh de Brandlesome, Mr. Radcliffe de Manchester and others. I did then communicate wth them my intent to levie on the Countie 96^{li} to beare the charges in execu^{con} of the Writt wth my purpose likewise to contribute the overplus or remainder of the sume back againe to the County (if any such there were remaining) after due execu^{con} thereof. And wthall charged all the High Constables of the hundreds of the Countie, that neither they nor the pettie Constables should levie or collect more money then what was by their severall warrants apointed, because (as I tould them) I had levied the sum of 96^{li} to beare the whole charges, w^{ch} (with submission to your Lordships interpreta^{con}) I understand my Writt doth Warrant mee so to do, w^{ch} accordinglie as I conceive myselfe to bee bound unto by the direction of my Writt, soe it is my great care punctually to observe the same, but untill such tyme as I had payed in the money and rec^d a discharge & given an accompt of the 96^{li} so levied as afforesaid to your Lordship, I thought it was neither safe nor convenient for mee to returne the same back againe into the Countie. And the reason why I levied the overplus as aforesaid was because if it had hapned (as often it doth) that our Tradesmans hands had beene full, or anie other defect in their Trade, so as they could not have undertaken the returne thereof, then I should have beene forced to have conveyed the same by carr[ier] on horseback, & then a sufficient assistance for guarding of the same charge to London would have cost 40 or 50^{li}, or if the Sheriff

of Cheshire his money had beene readie to have been returned at the same tyme (w^{ch} I much doubted) one of the Counties must have car[r]ied their money by horses, because so great a sūme at one tyme could not have been returned by exchange in our Countrie or if in the prosecution of the service I had mett with such Impe-dim^{ts} and strong oppositions as some other Sheriffs of neighbouring Counties did, the charge to have been remooved the same might have exceeded the sūme levied, wherein if I have erred it hath beene by the opinion of those that are of more understanding & experience then myselfe whose advice hath misled mee, and for w^{ch} I crave pardon and your Lordships further advice, whether I shall returne the remainder of the money accordinge to this Account inclosed back again into the Countie, or the whole sūm of 96^{li} levied, the w^{ch} according to your Lordships dirrections I shall forthwith performe. Thus although I knowe your Lordships more serious occasions can hardlie give waie to matters of lesser moment notwithstanding I have made bould sincerely to informe your Lordships of the truth, lest being so traduced by theise whispering suggestors by my silence your Lordship might thinke I wanted matter trulie to alledge in my owne defence. And soe craving pardon and yr Lordships favour I humbly take my leave & rest.

Yr Lordships in all dutie & service
to bee comāded

Humf. Cheetam.¹

The following statement, dated January 14, 1635-6, shows how the sum of £96 was made up.

A true and perfect Account of £96 levied on the Co. of Lanc. for bearing of the Charges in Execucon of his Ma^{ties} Writt for the Collecting of £3500 within that Co.

Laid out for Charges—

At the first Convention of the Mayor Burgesses &
Bailiffs of the Corporate and Borough Towns for
the Assessing of ye townes - - - - - £ 3 19

¹ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. v. p. 3.

| | | | |
|---|----|----|----|
| For severall Warrants sent out at severall tymes to the High Constables of the Hundreds of the Co. both for making their Assessments & other Meetings to view the same and for the Collecting of the Money Assessed - - - - - | 1 | 13 | 0 |
| To John Lightbowne for car. of severall Warrants & severall copies of Letters to diverse parts of the Countie - - - - - | 1 | 19 | 2 |
| At severall tymes in meetinge the High Constables of the Hundred to hear their Complaints & to remove such Impediments as hindered the collectors of ye money - - - - - | 1 | 15 | 0 |
| Spent by the charge of 16 men and 20 horses in our Journey to Preston in one week for receaving and bringing home of 2000 ^{li} . received of four of the Hundreds of the Co., and in payment thereof to the Exchangers - - - - - | 23 | 18 | 10 |
| To the High Constables for such Charges as they disbursed out of Purse and travell some 180 miles some 140 and some 80 miles & in collecting & carrying their money to Preston - - - - - | 15 | 3 | 10 |
| For abatements to Poor People that had not wherewithall to pay & other nonsolvants whose goods we could not find nor the parties themselves & other small losses in car. the money - - - - - | 3 | 15 | 0 |
| For charges in payment of the 3500 ^{li} to Sr. Will. Russell, Thresor. of his Mäties Navie - - - - - | 0 | 9 | 6 |
| Sum tot. - - - - - | 50 | 3 | 2 |
| Remainder - - - - - | 45 | 16 | 10 |

Lord Newburgh replied on the 29 January, 1635-6, that he was well satisfied that Mr. Chetham had very faithfully and duly performed His Majesty's service and well merited the acknowledgment which the Lords of the Council had been pleased to return for it. He had advised with the Lord Keeper and the Lord Privy Seal about the overplus levied for the expenses of col-

lecting the Ship-money, and they were of opinion that the Writ did not warrant it, and that the question had been so decided at the council table as regarded other Sheriffs.

The King had also declared that no Sheriff ought or should be allowed to levy any money for such a purpose, but should execute this as they did all other writs and services for his Majesty. The Judges at the next Assize would direct how the overplus should be disposed of.¹

On the same day Mr. George Chetham addressed his uncle and said :—

My last letter was by Robert Leaver since which tyme, yesterday being Thursday, I was with my Lord Newburgh and there was with him Mr. Blundell our Countrie lawyer. After he had done with my Lord, my Lo. called me in, I beinge in the next roome, and he wished Mr. Blundell to stay, and did relate the business to him whatt you had written, and likewise did read over the note of charges which was in my Lord his letter, and did ask Mr. Blundell his oppinion concerning the note of charges you had sent, and withall did lett Mr. Blundell see the note which Mr. Rogerson sent in my letter which was concerninge the meaninge of the Kings Writt. And Mr. Blundell did read some of the Latin which was in the note and sayd it was not so to be understood that you should levy any thing for charges. And then my Lo. said he asked my Lo. Keeper and my Lo. Privy Seale whether any allowance is to be made to Sheriffs, and he tould him Noe. And my Lo. sayd some Sheriffs had attempted to doe the like, but the King hath declared himselfe that noe allowance shalbe made. I tould my Lo. you weare a man farr from doinge any thinge which is not justifiable of any kind, having don all things in soe good manner. I told my Lo. it was contrary to your mind to transsgresse in any kind. If you had not beene misled by others you had not don tihs. And then Mr. Blundell made answer you weare wronged by the undersheriff, and tould my Lo. the countree was more trobled and greeved to pay that which you levyed for Charges than to pay the 3500^{li}, and Mr. Blundell sayd the Sheriff would not do those

¹ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. v., p. 4.

things butt itt is his undersheriff. And Mr. Blundell tould my Lo. that he asked the opinion of a Judge concerning the levying more than was to be payd, and the Judge sayd ytt was a Star Chamber business. My Lord answered—Noe, it was but an error, and then Mr. Blundell tould my Lo. you were a very honest gentleman, and hee never did know the business [of Sheriff] soe performed in his tyme. My Lord sayd he heard well of y^e which made him to give notice of these things. Then my Lo. wished me to come this morning and he would give you directions what to doe wth the money you levied above 3500^{li}. You are to go or send to the Judges and Justices of Peace and to repay the 96^{li} excepting 3^{li} 5^s which you put down for abatements to poore people and non-solvants. Thus I have related what speeches were before my Lord and then goinge I had some speeche with Mr. Blundell, who tould me hee was very sorry to heare the clamour and complayntt made against you, uppon the meeting of the Justices (for I perceave he is one) because you did levy more than £3500. Butt sayeth he Rogerson is a peremptory fellow and will undertake any thing and thinks he understands points of law when he doth not. If you go or send to the Justices you may do well to repaye to Mr. Blundell because my Lo. acquainted him with this business. And for y^r further satisfaction herein I refer you to my Lo. his letter inclosed who tould me this morning you did mistake the Writt. Indeed yesterday Mr. Blundell told me you should have asked advice of a lawyer whether you might have levied more than £3500. I do perceave upon the repaying again all will be well, only you have undergone some undeserved censures by being wrong advised by others. Soe praying God to keepe you I rest your loving Cossen to his power.

Geo. Chetham.

All this speech w^{ch} I had with my Lo. was in his own house and Mr. Blundell came I suppose uppon his own business. I write this to give you notice where ytt was.¹

Mr. Lightbowne, the lawyer,² had apparently been consulted

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 7.

² John Lightbowne, writing to Humphrey Chetham on 20 October, 1631, says "I am at last admitted to Grayes Inne, and have (I thanke God) made entrance into the studie of the Lawes." (*Chet. MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 46.) Cf. *Manchester Court Leet Records*, ed. Earwaker, vol. iii. p. 47.

on the matter before the last letter had been received, and Mr. Chetham observed "I am confident no county in England hath done the like service with so small an allowance as I demand, but if I must return the overplus which is remaining in my hands of the 96^{li} get me directions how I must pay it, and know of my Cosen George, his proceedings with my Lord Newburgh before you speak to my Lord."

On the 19 February Mr. George Chetham again writes to his uncle :—

My last letter was by Mr. Cooke. Since I have received your letter in answer to my Lo. Newburgh his letter, and accordinge to yo^r advice I have been wth my Lo. and did read y^r letter to him, who tould me he was willinge to do you any courtesye he could. But whereas you writt you will repay the money back again to the Judges at next Assizes my Lord sayth you must repay it to ye Justices of Peace att Assizes and not [to] the Judges. If it was written in my Lo. letter to repay it to the Judges it was the mistake of my Lords Secretary and whereas you writt the error you made is common with all other Sheriffs my Lo. sayth none must do it, If any have done it and it be known they will be questioned. You writt you had the advice of the best understanding Justices in our County and others when you levied the overplus of 96^{li}. But my Lo. sayth he doe not well understand. And my Lo. told me the Writt was gone down to the new Sheriff. Of that I did inform myself before I went to my Lo. for I did inquire in the Duchy Office and they tould me the Writt was gone down to Mr. ffarington a weeke agoe, from whom you must accept y^r discharge, if you have ytt not already, so that the Business nowe doth not sticke above. I hope you have heard of your discharge before this. Methinks Roger Rogerson should have given you notice. There came a letter to my hands last week from Mr. Nichols, Clarke of the Counsell, for you, which I delivered to Mr. Rogerson who did goe to Mr. Nichols. It was concerning to have a Note how several places in Lancashire are rated. Rogerson will bring the letter down with him. I being at Grays Inn this week did speak to Mr. Blundell and aske him what was the meaning of the Writt, which did speak of the Allowance of some charges and he tould me it was according

as the lawyers would interpret it, and he told me what was the opinion of a Judge in that case which I writt you formerly. I doe not perceave that Mr. Blundell did speake any disrespect of you to my Lo. only what he heard, for he being att that time when I came to my Lo. ytt was uppon my Lords owne business and by axcedentt I found him there. I doe think whether y^o goe direct to the Justices [or not] ytt will not be amiss to repayre to Mr. Blundell who is acquainted with this business : for this tyme I comitt you to God and rest ever

Y^r loving Cossen to
his pow^r,

Geo. Chetham.

My Lord Newburgh wished me to Remember him to you. I did thank his Lordship & tould him I would.¹

On the 22 February, 1635-6, Mr. Lightbowne, "from his Chamber over the Chapel in Gray's Inn," writes :—

I wonder the Lords should order the repayment of the money you levyed for your just charges. For my owne part, with submission, I cannot conceyve the Clause in the end of the Co^mission to have any other effect but for necessary charges in collectinge : And *Verba debent intelligi cum effectu et ut aliquid optentur*, saith the Lawyer. I remember when wee payd the first 500^{li} and demanded charge the Clerk of the Counsell & as I remember the Secretarie of Estate tould us you should have levyed your charge upon the Countrey. And I am verily persuaded that the most of the Sheriffs and heads of Townes Corporate in England doe soe : but perhaps some Informa^cions might bee made against you. God be thanked you have borne yourself nobly throughout and you have perpetuated your praise to posterity. The Lord continue his love unto you and remunerate you with health and happiness, so prayeth hee who desyreth to express himself upon all occasions

Your servant

J. Lightbowne.²

A modern writer observes that "the rather curious measure he took to recoup himself in the matter of Ship money nearly brought him into the Star Chamber," (Espinasse, *Lanc. Worthies*,

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v., p. 10.

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 12.

p. 90) but the above statement exonerates Chetham from any usual or "curious" proceeding, and the error on a point of law is to be referred to his legal adviser.

Another important subject, brought under the notice of the High Sheriff by the Privy Council, met with his hearty approval. This was the national fund attempted to be raised at the special request of the King and Archbishop Laud to defray the expense of extensive repairs which had been going on for three or four years in St. Paul's Cathedral. Mr. Chetham's earnest efforts to promote this object were unremitting, although he met with less sympathy and the good cause with less support than he had expected. It was not popular with many churchmen, who stood aloof, owing to the supposed unconstitutional proceedings of the King; nor with the presbyterians, although they maintained a church establishment, because the measure had been initiated by the primate.

Mr. Chetham, like his nephew George in London, was an active partisan of the measure, and the former at least on two, and the latter on several, occasions contributed money towards the fabric fund.¹ On the 26 June, 1635, a letter was addressed from the Court at Greenwich² to Mr. Chetham, stating that in July of the preceding year letters had been sent to Mr. Standish when High Sheriff, to be circulated amongst the Lancashire magistrates, requesting them to raise contributions towards this important work, and calling upon the Sheriff to give an account of what steps had been taken, together with the certificates and the names of the contributors. It appeared that many persons, well disposed to do so, on national, and others on church grounds, had not been called upon, nor had they an opportunity afforded of contributing. Such a proceeding, it was stated, must have seriously endangered the progress of the work, had not the expenses been diminished owing to the accidental retarding of the shipping and the conveying of stone for the undertaking, occasioned by the contrary winds, the fall of Portland pier, and the severity of the

¹ *Cash Book.*

² *Chet. MSS.*, vol. iii. pp. 110-111.

weather during the previous winter. These impediments being removed, the work had been resumed, and the King did not doubt of the affection of his loving subjects in promoting so pious an undertaking, "whereunto," it was significantly added, "his Majesty himself layeth a gracious and bountiful hand," and the royal example was a pledge that the offerings of the people would be favourably received.

On the 13 October, Mr. Chetham dispatched a letter to the Justices of the Peace reminding them of his former letter, and urging them to proceed with a work "of soe much piety," and suggesting that no further omission or neglect on their part ought to retard such a service. For this purpose he earnestly desired the "Commissioners" whom he had nominated, to meet him at Preston on the 28 October, to promote, without any further delay, the object of the Council. He gives some practical instructions to them, and states with some sharpness, that "all the Hundreds, but Salford, had been very remiss" in the matter. This is learnt from the rough draft of his letter, in his own handwriting, and with his verbal corrections.¹

The result of the meeting is not recorded; except that "only five or six Commissioners came to Preston."² He was not deterred by the apathy of the county magistrates, and prepared another letter "on this important service, soe much requiring expedition," stating the case and seeking to enlist their support; and that it should not fail to arrest their notice, he endorsed upon it "this letter is to be delivered from one Justice of the Peace to another, through the Hundred of Salford, by special messengers, and an answer is to be returned to me, the now Sheriff, with all convenient speed."³ It is clear that one part of Mr. Chetham's object was attained—the letter found its way to the magistrates, but nothing satisfactory to him seems to have resulted, and his moral influence had been small. The autographs are given in the following succession:—Received by Wm. Radclyff 28 August, 1635, Roger Downes, Alex. Radclyff,

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii., pp. 146, 154.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*

Cecyll Trafforde, Richard Holland, Edm. Assheton, Edm. Hopwood, Raphe Assheton, J. Bradshaw, John Greenehalgh, Edward Rawsthorne, Savile Radcliffe, "living at Mearley in the Hundred of Blackburn but signed here by me."¹ It also appears to have been received by Robert Holte and Sir Thomas Barton.

On the 7 November, Roger Kenyon, the lawyer, writing from Whalley, says "I received your letter by a lyme carrier, eight days after its date, about the steps taken in Lancashire by the Justices for raising money for St. Paul's Cathedral, London." The Lords of the Council had called for the rolls and names of the contributors in past years, as they had been dissatisfied with the response so coldly made to the appeals for pecuniary support, and Mr. Kenyon says :—

"I received some of the particular Certificates of the Hundreds, Blackburne from Sir Rafe Assheton, Derby from Mr. Blundell, Leyland from Mr. Wrightington, and the two others, Amoundernes and Lonsdale I heard were ready in Mr. Wrightington's hands, but for Salford, w^{ch} *sub silentio* is seldom regular, I neyther received nor heard of any. When I perceived that the general certificate like Noah's third dove had taken flight, not to return, and the Term coming on, for my own business, I sent a copy of it and of such Hundreds as I had received, by Henry Gerard, to London, that Mich. term and writ to Mr. Downes how all things stood—but it was then sayed that Mr. Wynn had payd the money (as noe doubt he had) and that there needed no further looking after the business. . . . If you send copies of the Rolls and names of contributors I should imagine that w^d satisfye the Councell Board . . . I sent the Certificate of your Hundred to Capt. Rawsthorne, from thence, so far as I can trace it, I hear the Captain sent it to Mr. Grenehalgh, he to Sir Thomas Barton, who being not at home, some of his servants sent it a long way into another Hundred, ere it was fully sped to Salford Hundred, again unto Mr. Standish of Duxbury, from whence I know not whither it went, but as I remember, I heard it came back to Mr. Ogle, but of this I am not assured, but sure I am, yt never came back to me, neither can I hunt it further. How to act with the Counsel on this matter I leave to your better judgment."²

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 114.

² *Ib.*, vol. i. p. 246.

Writing finally to the Council on this subject Mr. Chetham recapitulated all that had taken place, and the concluding remarks of his letter, indicating his personal feeling, are worthy of a sound and consistent churchman.

By special messengers sent to the Commissioners of the several Hundreds of the remotest places of the Countie . . . that so the Commissioners looking back on their former remissnes both unto this and the former Commission or neglect in returning answers according to your Lordships expectation in the important service therein so much requiring expedition they might redeeme the tyme and by double endeavour expedite such accompts or certificates as unto your Lordships . . . might be satisfactorie. I did direct Letters a second time without such success or effect as I thereby expected . . . lest any of my former instructions should have miscarried . . . I earnestly desired them to give me a meeting at Preston in Anundernes (a place most indifferent and of equal distance from the remotest place of the Countie) on a certain daie . . . that no further omission or neglect should retard the service . . . [I had] hope of more fruit in my labours but the Commissioners came not, excepting 5 or 6 of only from 2 of the Hundreds of the Countie . . . The reason of which their neglect I know not unlesse this great occasion for the Ship Money and their employment thereabout prevented their coming or else that they thought it not so seasonable, while this service of such consequence was in agitation, to tender the other to the common people, which perhaps might have hindered the prosperous success of both . . . The original Certificate of Salford Hundred I find was unfortunately lost but a copy sent . . . This being the effect of all that I could do (though not so much as I desired to have done, in the furtherance of so pious and honourable a service), I humbly tender it to your Lordships good consideration and take my leave.

Your Lordships in all dutie
to be comāded

Hum. Cheetam.¹

Clayton, the 28th November, 1635.

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 154.

His learned friend, Mr. Lightbowne, on 22 February, 1635-6, writes to him at Clayton Hall :—

“I hope by this tyme you have receyved your welcome discharge of your troublesome office. I went about a week agoe to y^e Clerk y^t wrytes y^e Patent for the new Sheriff and saw the *Amoveas manis* for the old, to inquire whether they were sent downe, who returned mee answer y^t they were : and that now it was the new Sheriff's fault if you were not discharged. Thus much I made bould to inquire as of myselfe, because I knew your desyre was to take leave wth your office. Many other Sheriffes are not yet discharged.”¹

Mr. Chetham appears by general consent to have displayed unusual hospitality and munificence in discharging his social official duties. Mr. George Marshall, writing to him from Lathom House, 24 March, 1634-5, said “I am glad to hear of your safe being at Preston on Friday night in your way home [from Lancaster] and no little pleased to hear how all things were done at the Assizes. I will forbear particulars lest I should seem to flatter.”²

Mr. Richard Johnson in July congratulated his friend on his “glorious attendants” at the Assize and prayed that God might increase “the honour and love” which he had already received, and expressed his own sorrow that he had not the happiness of being the preacher. Mr. Blundell, the lawyer, informed the Privy Council that he had never known the business of Sheriff so well discharged in his time as it had been by Mr. Chetham. His nephew, George Chetham, in July, observed “You do say the hot performance did heartily trouble you and would do our Spiritual Fathers no good, the Preacher plead so hard for popery ; you will see that he amended the next time, but I do hear from Cosen Croston that you did all things very bravely, and met with a hearty reception abroad.”³ Mr. Lightbowne, in February, 1635-6, said, that the noble manner in which he had

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 12.

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 80.

³ *Chetham MSS.* Probably the preacher was so strong a champion of the Church of England that he was censured by the Puritans, like Bancroft, as a friend to Popery, and that his over-zeal indirectly did harm to the Bishops.

acted "had perpetuated his praise to posterity." But the crowning act of all was the thanks of the King and his Privy Councillors; although it is not improbable that the tribute to his public character, which he most valued, was that of Lord Strange, the Lord Lieutenant of the County.

On the 23 December Mr. Chetham received his formal discharge as Sheriff, and his active and loyal services secured for him the special acknowledgments and well merited thanks of the King in the following terms:—

"After our hartie commendacons. Whereas wee have acquainted his Ma^{tie} that you have paid in the whole some required for setting forth and furnishing of a Shipp of 350 Tones at the Charge of the Countie of Lancaster, of which your care and dilligence His Ma^{tie} hath bin pleased to take especiall notice, and thereupon hath not onely eased you of yo^r office by appointing a new Sheriff for that Countie but hath likewise given us command to signifie to you his gracious exceptance of the forward and ready payment made of the said moneys as a testimony of the good affec^{ti}on of those of that Countie, and wee for our parts shall be ready upon all occa^{si}ons for your advantage to put his Ma^{tie} in minde thereof. And so wee bid you farewell, from the Court at Whitehall the 23rd of December, 1635.

Your loving friends—

(Signed) H. Manchester.

Cha. Cottington.

J. Strange.

E. Newburgh.

Tho. Jermyn.

J. Coke.

Fran. Windebank.

Edw. Nicholas, Secre.¹

Late High Sheriff
of Lancaster (*sic*)

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 43.

CHAPTER IX.

MR. Chetham might have reasonably concluded that he had done with the honours and responsibilities of his Shrievalty, but such was not the case. Several years after his accounts had been "audited, certified, and reported upon," and, it may be inferred, discharged, he was informed on the 20 March, 1639-40, by Francis Phillips, one of the Auditors of the Exchequer, that in November, 1635, the Sheriffs of the County Palatinate of Lancaster had been required by a Star Chamber order to pass their accounts in the same manner as the Sheriffs of the Palatinates of Chester and Durham were accustomed, and Mr. Chetham and his Under Sheriff were called upon to obey that order, or be subjected to legal proceedings. The Auditor or his local officials, if this resolution had come into operation, had displayed some negligence in not before bringing it to Mr. Chetham's notice, and the recurrence of more than one misadventure connected with this office of Sheriff gives but a poor idea of ministerial vigilance. There was something wrong in the working of the administrative machinery which it is to be feared affected the government and extended to its limbs. Mr. Chetham writing on the subject to Mr. Auditor Phillips in Leadenhall Street, London, observed :—

"At Michaelmas term last when your agent Mr. Bateman was in the Countre I could not attend him att Manchester by reason of sickness and it was by him then thought fit and advysed (as I am informed) that Mr. Standish my immediate predecessor, myselfe and Mr. flarington, my next successor in the office should join in a Commission for taking of our Oathes to account according to the Order mencioned in your letter but their agents did not join (agree)

. . . . for your better satisfaction if you think fitt I will bee at the sole charge of a Commission for myselfe, though it is conceived better we should joyn because Mr. Standish should account before mee and Mr. Farington should next follow mee, soe that one should not suffer nor be charged for the acts of another. What direcon you shall give I will observe though the others neglect for I doe much desire to perfect my Accounts with all possible speed and to procure my *Quietus est*. Nothing being in my hands, nor in my Undersheriff's hands unaccounted for that I know of. And for that purpose I have frequently called upon my Under Sheriff who tells me that he hath begun already, and laid out some fees in your office for the doing thereof. If you shall think fit that these things may stay without prejudice to myself till next terme I should much desire itt, soe I might know whether Mr. Standish and Mr. Farington will joyn, att which time I will appoint one to know your further desire. If in the mean time you shall advise mee to goe on I pray you to give way to a Commission for the taking of my Oathe and my undersheriff's this tearme and this bearer will disburse what is requisite. Good Sir, let me crave your favour & answer and what you direct I shall most willingly observe, & in the meantime rest

Y^r very loving friend

Humfrey Cheetham.

The Commission does not appear to have been issued, and it might seem that Mr. Chetham had formed too high an opinion of his under-sheriff's business habits. Mr. Phillips granted the following :—

Certificate touching the Charges issued against Mr. Chetham for Money receyved when hee was Sheriff.

In 1635 Levied by virtue of divers *ben. de fi fac.* on the goods and chattells land and ten. of William Assheton Rector of Middleton for the first paym^t of the 4^h Subsidy the 5th to our Lord the King Carol. A^o regn. 3. Received lxiii^s of Richard Urmston, kinsman and heir of Richard Urmston, deceased, a fine for his Relief for the Rectory of the Church of Leigh v^s. Of Adam Hayward in part of xl^{li} above his Imposition through the Com^{mission}^{rs} for Ecclesiastical causes xvii^s. Of Wm. Daire in part of xi^{li}

for a similar fine xv^s. Of Edward Osbaldeston of part of xl^s for an Aid at the Marriage of the Lady Elizabeth xx^s. Of William Hodgkinson because he did not take the Order of Knighthood xli. In all xviii vi^s o^d.

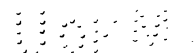
All this is part of the Charge of Humphrey Chetham, Esq., and is mentioned in a *Quietus* to him delivered by Edmund Bateman, my Deputy for that County, dated 11th October, 1641. *Signed*, F. Phillips Audit.

Nor was this the only unpleasant incident connected with the office. Some time after this official discharge was granted, Mr. Chetham was called upon to account for certain other charges and assessments amounting to £19 19s. 2d. which had been paid by him, in due course, into the Exchequer, and for which he had received a discharge, it might be from a subordinate, but he afterwards found it necessary to apply for a special discharge from the Chief Auditor, Francis Phillips, which was granted and doubtless the fee paid. Mr. Chetham's honesty of purpose and capacity for business served him well, otherwise his name might have been unjustly degraded and his character unfairly sullied in the estimation of posterity. The Auditor had surely no right, under any pretext, to rehear a case which had been already decided by his own official. But what he had a right to do, and indeed was imperatively bound to do, was to ascertain that the whole of the money had been paid to the government. Mistakes will inevitably occur, but in this instance the error was not attributed to Humphrey Chetham, who would assuredly be glad to escape a climate in which fees seemed to be indigenous, officials reckless, and victims in hopeless plight.

When Mr. Chetham was appointed High Sheriff it was considered to be necessary that all the traditional pomp and ceremonial connected with the office should be observed. Banners and flags were an important part of the programme, and these were emblazoned with the armorial bearings of the Sheriff. Up to this time the Chethams of Crumpsall had not appeared at any of the heraldic visitations of the county, nor do they seem

to have assumed arms at all. They were popularly regarded as a prosperous mercantile family and not entitled to the distinction. The ambition of wealthy commercial families about Manchester to use these ancient military badges, and the jealousy and envy which prevailed on the subject, has been forcibly described in letters written by the local heralds of that time.¹ Randle Holme, the Deputy Herald of Chester, was applied to on the subject by Mr. Chetham, whose knowledge of his ancestors and their social status seems to have been very circumscribed. Holme, without fortifying himself by any evidence or proof, assigned to Mr. Chetham the coat armour of Trafford of Trafford, with the old crest of that ancient family. This coat, with a bordure for difference, was borne by Chaderton of Nuthurst, and by Chetham of the same, and their right to its use had never been questioned. It was therefore adopted and displayed by the High Sheriff on his first appearance with his vast retinue, in the county town. The usurpation of the right of a neighbour and the supposed infringement of the laws of heraldry, were not overlooked, and Mr. Chetham was informed in a somewhat premonitory style that he had violated a rule of chivalry and had incurred the pains and penalties of the Court of the Earl Marshall, whose powers were regal in this department of the state. The question had now assumed a gravity not to be disregarded. The old members of his family could furnish him with no precise information, except that there was a tradition that the Chethams of Nuthurst were descended from the Chethams of Cheetham, and that the Chethams of Crumpsall were a branch from the former house, Cheetham, Nuthurst, and Crumpsall all being contiguous and in the same parish; but it did not occur to any of the individuals consulted and concerned in the matter that the Chethams like the Chadertons might have been the descendants of a younger son of the great feudal house of Trafford, and therefore entitled to bear their arms. There is a possibility that such was the fact, although the Chetham docu-

¹ *Chetham Miscell.*, vol. v.



mentary evidence, is not, like that of the Chadertons, indisputable. Thomas Chetham, the head of the Nuthurst family, appears to have made no difficulty about recognising the High Sheriff as a kinsman, and he readily certified to the heralds that the Crumpsall line descended from a "second brother of the blood and lineage of his ancestors," as "by my evidences more fully may appear," but the evidences were not called for, and the proof was not put on record. The heralds demurred, and still required closer proof of consanguinity. The interposition of Sir Humphrey Davenport, the Lord Chief Baron, whose daughter had married Sir Cecil Trafford, was now sought, and as he was a personal friend of the High Sheriff, his good offices were not sought in vain. Sir Henry St. George, the Norroy, was evidently influenced by "the man of law," and granted to Humphrey Chetham a coat of arms that differed only in one minute charge from that which he had assumed when sheriff.

Mr. Johnson, the fellow of the Collegiate Church, and Mr. Lightbowne, the young barrister, who had received substantial aid in his early studies from Mr. Chetham, had been most assiduous in searching the records in the College of Arms, and they were informed that the arms assumed by Humphrey Chetham "did not agree" with them; but no other Chetham arms were brought forward. The High Sheriff informed Mr. Lightbowne that he was "resolved to make a choice of the paternal coat of the Chethams," whatever it might be, and Johnson was wishful that the arms first used at the Assize should be confirmed, in their integrity, to avoid cynical observations by the censorious.

It was thought at the Heralds' College that the Nuthurst Chethams had answered the summons to appear at St. George's Visitation of Lancashire in 1613, that his heraldic claims had been recognised, and that he might have clear proof in his pedigree to corroborate the statement he had made by certificate, but such was not the case. If Humphrey Chetham had assumed arms without authority, Mr. Chetham of Nuthurst had

brought forward no authority for his right to use armorial bearings. His family were ancient, but they had not at that time appeared at any Visitation, and produced vouchers to prove their knightly descent, although their muniment room was rich in old charters and deeds. There was no pedigree of the Chethams of Nuthurst, however meagre, recorded in the College of Arms, and yet they had been recognised as gentlemen for over three centuries.

It was during this incident, that Mr. Chetham was informed that Sir Henry St. George was of opinion that the right mode of spelling his patronymic was "with two h's and one e," the "e" in the first syllable being long, and this is the form in which the name is found written in the oldest charters still extant. At this time (17th century) there was no standard of orthography as regards proper names, and if it be said that a man's own mode of spelling his own name ought to be followed, it would be difficult sometimes to follow the suggestion, especially in the case of Humphrey Chetham, whose practice in that respect was continuously capricious and variable, and he was evidently not aware what the orthography had been in its earliest use. He spells his surname in five different ways before the year 1635, but after that date he adhered to the dictum of Sir Henry St. George, Norroy, and all Humphrey Chetham's belongings have followed his example as a cogent law.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX.

The following letters and certificates in connection with the grant of arms to Humphrey Chetham are reprinted, with corrections, from Whatton's *Hist. of Chetham's Hospital*, pp. 146-156.—S.

(1) An^o Dni 1635 June 12.

And I do hereby acknolege expresse and declare to all whom it may conserne that the Ancestors of Hump. Cheetam of Clayton in the County of Lancaster Esq. was a younger brother of the bloud

and lynage of my Ancestors of the House of Nuthurst, in wittnesse whereof I have hereto putt my Hand.

THO: CHEETAM.

Wittness CALVIN ROTHWELL.

On this certificate was rudely sketched a shield containing the crest and coat of Chadderton, viz. Argent, a Griffin segreant gules, within a bordure sable, bezantê; and another with the bearing of Chadderton and Nuthurst.

(2) Right Worshipfull

All due respects premised. I might justly bee condemned of a pragmaticall humour, or as a busy body in other men's matters, if I had not beene intreated to yeild my advise and due furtheraunce in the ensuing businesse, whereof I nowe write unto you. Sir, I perceive that some malicious knaves have endeavoured to disgrace you about your Coate of Armes, and I believe Mr. Kenion hath had an hand in it, and although you have haply heard that Mr. Harrison would befriende you, yet uppon some circumstances I doe suspect such friendship, and I doubt hee deales double, for hee that wills well to you will not publish such a matter, as he doth, though under pretence of haveing you to cleare the Right you have in the Coate you bare; and he puts out doubtfull words of the great danger and hazzard of charges which you els have incurred; But as I was permitted to see in a letter of yours, you heede not (and that wisely) noe such Calumniators which have endeavoured to traduce you, for the lesse you regard it, the better it is;—and if there be any error in the Coate, lett it bee in hulme who tooke uppon him to give you your owne. And for Mr. Ryeley, it behoveth you to shewe him respect as you have done, whether hee bee true or false, as I feare there is a knott, and to trust him or a least to seeme to trust him, may make a knave more faythfull. To come to the matter, I saw a Coate of Armes sent up, and suspectinge somewhat, I made a search in the office, & it is most apparent, that the Coate is Chatterton's Coate, and the Crest Chatterton's, and that in the second place only, which is the three Phleames in the feild argent, with a Crest, a Griffin currant, volant and regaurdant, is belonging to Chetham of Lancashire;—and that Chatterton, by reason of a Marriage with Cheetam, may beare that Coate sent up; but Cheetam cannot weare the Griffin surgerunt & volant, nor the Chrest, which

is the halfe Griffin surgerunt & volant, nor yett the Crosse—I perceivinge this, was instructed by a friende belonginge to the Heraulds office, by noe means to shewe that Coate and Certificate, for, sayth hee, if Sir Henry St. George shall perceive that Mr. Thomas Cheetham will put his hand to a Coate of Armes, which is none of his owne, and affirme it to be his owne, hee will give noe heed to his testimonie about the descent,—Therefore, with the best advice I could have, I have sent downe a Certificate only, whereunto with great speed, gett Thomas Cheetam’s Hand and Seale (as before), without any armes, that you, by a lawefull discent, are entituled unto his armes; & then I make litle question, but wee shall have that confirmed to you which is your owne; Mr. Cheetham of Nutthurst can make noe scruple at this, because the Certificate is verbatim with the fformer, exceptinge these words, “as more at large is above depicted”—which we durst not raze out, and cut off[f] the Armes, both because Royley had seene it, and for that it was sealed; neither can this trouble him, that you take a Coate which he thinketh is but part of his owne,—for soe may hee also, and yett not disparage his Title to all, if he hath any true Title thereunto;—for Chatterton may weare the Crosse or Griffin, which he will allowe, or both, if he will, and Cheetams Coate also, because of a marriage.—I have sent you downe a Coate depicted which you may lawfull beare, if your descent bee proved; but Ryley maketh question of that, for that there are no such Names uppon record.—But I apprehende noe difficultie in that, for that you may bee the second Brother of a second Brother of that House, which haply are not recorded in the Office.—You, I heare, have the Names of the Heires of that house.—Wee have put the same date as was in the former Certificate, there is no absurditie in that,—Send upp this Coate againe with the Certificate by the next—for some of Ryley’s acquayntance which I have named, are the Reporters of greate words. I knowe not what farther [to] say in this Businesse, but that you doe well to neglect all & take noe notice:—I feare there will bee more charges than you expect,—God be with you and prosper you,

Sr Henry St.
George is
Kinge of
Armes for
Lancashire.

Your Worppes in all due Service,

RICHARD JOHNSON.

They nowe pretend some Gentlemen in the Countie are aggrieved and will have the truth tryed, but all I think is knavery.

I goe next Sunday to Hampton Court to y^e King about the Warden & Charter.

Sept^r 17th 1635.¹

(3) Worthy Sir

Premise, I pray you, the remembrance of my obliged duety unto your best deserving selfe, &c.—I have received your twoe or three Letters since I wrytt unto you :—My desyre to certify you of our Proceedings with the Herald, occasioned my hitherto delay. I am right sorry that I cannot now wryte of our accomplishment thereof, —for wee repayred to Reyley, but the truth is, as yet we have not, neither durst wee adventure to doe any thing, for soe 'tis, may it please you, that upon receipt of your armes and discent, wee shewed them to Reyley (of whose faythfulnesse herein we are not altogether assured) who made some doubt whether Sir Henry St. George, Kinge of Armes, for that Province, would allow that Certificate from your Cosen Chetam (for he sayth, an acknowledgement of consanguinity is not sufficient in Extremity, to intereste you in his Armes, without the Herald's consent), hee further sayth, hee may enforce you to prove it more precisely by deeds or other testimony :—But for that our Answer was, wee made noe scruple of the probate thereof, and further that wee were confident more evydence would not need :—Next he sayd, those armes did not agree with their Records, which uppon Serch in the Office wee likewise found different, for you gave the Chetam's and Chaderton's, with Chaderton's Crest, and their Coate likewise in the first place.—And another coate wee found quartered with yours, which for ought wee could find, neither belonged to Chetam nor Chaderton, as I take it.—Things thus happenynge, we thought it best to desist, until we heard further what your Cosen Chetam can produce in Mayntenance thereof, for about three or four and twenty years agoe there was a Visitation in Lancashire. Soe that perhaps your Cosen Chetam hath some confirmation from them in his keepinge, that may cleare you : but wee can find nothing here for that purpose. 'Tis

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 142.

probable your Cousen Chetham would not encourage you to give those Armes without some confidence of his Title, and I remember when I last saw you in the Countrey, you were resolved to make choyce of the Paternall Coate of the Chetams, which I am persuaded you might lawfully have done. But now 'tis past, wee must endeavour to make good the other also, else we fall within their censure, which may bee for ought I can heare, almost as themselves please, if you fayle in Proove, wee must bee forced, I feare, to Composition.

Wee have advised with Mr. Johnson, who hath freely expended his Paynes with us about it, but we cannot well tell what to doe, until we hear from you, which wee desyre may bee with what convenient speed you can.

I will be bould to propose to your approbation a way, which, if the worst happe (if you shall like it), may please you.—The Earle of Arundell, Lord Marshall, sits as Judge in those Businesses, and my Lord Chiefe Baron¹ is very gracious and intimate with him, and one word or lyne from him might, I perswade my selfe, appease & quyet this perturbation; Your good service in your office may be suggested, and your care and charge in this great businesse of the Shipps: And that what you did was by direction of a Deputy Herald, and by the relation of your kinsman, from whose Ancestors you discended.—I am the boulder to mynd you of this Course, because both your Creditt may be conserved, and your purse preserved, & your enemyes may not prevayle against you (for Reyley said, the Gentrey of the Countrey would expect a strict prosecution from the Heralds), however it may be as pryvate as you please, for I shall not mention it to any, neither have I to your Cousen George, or Mr. Johnson. But my Lord Chiefe Baron's letter or word to the Earle Marshall would, I doubt not, prevayle for a lettre or word to Sir Henry St. George to surcease herein, and if it could bee before Terme, that our Countrey Men were come up, it were better. Soe submitting my self & Service unto your curteouse acceptance, with a hartly desyre to imploy the best of my ability in the accom-

¹ Sir Humphrey Davenport, Kn^t.

plishment of your Commands—I commit you to the Guard and
 Guydance of God Almighty—ever restinge,

Your Servant,

J. LIGHTBOWNE..

From my Chamber, &c.,
 the 18th of September
 1635.¹

We have sent you downe the Paternall Coate, but you need not
 shew it Mr. Tho. Chetam; onely gett him to subscribe to ye
 discent, and send it with all expedition, and for the use of the other
 Armes we shall doe the best wee can. I had rather they would
 confirme theise Armes in manner as you used them at the Assizes,
 because those that wish you ill, might soe bee prevented of their
 purpose. Although it cost you a little more money. I pray you
 wryte what you desyre to bee done with what speed you can. And
 in the meane tyme we will endeavour that nothing be done against
 you heere.

To the Right worth his worthy frend Humphry Chetam Esq.
 High Sheriffe of the County Pallatyne of Lancaster
 at Clayton his howse near Manchester, these present."

In the interim application had been made to Mr. James Chetham
 of Crumpsall, elder brother of Humphrey, for a certificate, with the
 view of connecting the Crumpsall branch with the original house of
 Nuthurst; his memory, however, was not able to carry him so far
 back, and he accordingly contented himself with setting forth the
 descent of his own family, from the time of his great grandfather
 Edward.

The certificate which he supplied is the following, taken from
Harl. MSS. 1987, p. 80.

(4) "June 20, 1635.

James Chetam of Croomsall, aged about three score & 9, eldest
 brother of Humphrey Chetam now Sheriff of Lancashire, reckneth
 his pedigree as followeth.—

Edward Chetam, my Great Grandfather, had issue James, and
 another sonne, but his name I remember not.

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 144.

Edward died without issue, & Henrie, his second sonne and my father, had issue myselfe, James, Edward, George, Simon, Humfrey now Sheriff, and Raph, and 2 daughters, Anne and Alice.

James, myselfe, now living, and eldest Son, have had issue Edward, George, Henrie, Edmund, James, Humfrey, & Edmund, and daughters likewise 2, Jane & Isabell.

Raph, a younger brother of me, James, had issue George, Raph & Humfrey, and 3 daughters, to witt, Marie, Margrett & Elizabeth.

p. me JAMES CHETAM."

This was supported by a more formal certificate from Mr. Thomas Chetham of Nuthurst, omitting the drawing of Arms, as before sent up, but at once adopting the Crumpsall line. though vaguely and without fixing upon any direct period. It was as follows :—

- (5) "To all and singlar person or persons to whom this present writinge shall come to be sene and read, Greeting in our Lord God everlasting ; Know ye that I, Thomas Chetam of Nuthurst in the County Palatine of Lancaster, Esq., at the instant request of my Cosin Humfrey Chetam of Clayton, Esq., now High Sheriffe of the said County (who being desirous to know the truth of his branching from my House of Nuthurst aforesaid, has desired from me a full publication thereof), to perform his reasonable request therein, as well as to satisfie all others, whom any way it may concerne, I do hereby signify, express & declare that the foresaid Humfrey Chetam is younger brother to James Chetam of Crompsall, in the County aforesaid, Gentleman, son and heir of Henry Chetam, son and heir to James Chetam, son and heir to Edward Chetam, a second brother of the bloud and lynage of my ancestors of the house of Nuthurst aforesaid, lawfully begot, as by my evidences more fully may appear ; so that I acknowledge the said Humfrey to be a kinsman of my bloud, according to the proof of the premises ; and do hereby give consent and allowance, that he shall and may without any prejudice to me or my heirs, lawfully bear my Arns & Crest, in all places, and on what occasions he pleases, with the difference of a second brother, surmounted by his own difference of Consanguinity.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal of Armes, the 4 day of August, in the yeare of our Lord God 1635,

and in the 10th yeare of our Sovereign Lord Charles, by the Grace of God, Kinge of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c."

(6) "Right worthy Sir,

My best observance of your good worshipp premised, &c. Wee have now at last (God bee thanked), notwithstandinge the multiplicity of delays and difficulties, perfected your business with the Heralds to ours, and, wee hope to your good likinge.

The Pedigree and Armes, approved and confirmed by Garter and Norroy Kings of Armes, you shall receyve from your Cosen George; the Coate differeth nothinge from the former you bore at the Assyses; onely upon the shoulder of the Griffin on the Crest, they have putt the Crosse which is parcell of your Coate. It is no disparagement at all unto the Armes, but only to distinguish it, for it is borne by another; and Sir Henry St. George sayd your Cosen Chetham of Nuthurst cannot beare that Crest;—and therefore you shall perceyve it in your Coate without halfe moone or other difference of younger House; But onely at our Entreaty because we would have soe little difference as might bee, hee hath given it to you *de novo*; You may add what Motto you please, for they say it it is noe part of the Armes, otherwise wee would have had it subscribed.

They called upon your Cosen George to take out his Armes, because the Visitation for London is not yet compleated, who hath done accordingly, as you may perceyve by the addition in your pedigree; It cost him XXX^s.

Wee moved to have your brother Raphe's Children putt in, and could not prevayle; but they could not come to you without nameing your Brother James, being elder brother.

Sir H. St George sayth your name is *Chetham*, with two H and one E, and soe would be written.—Wee were with my Lord Chiefe Baron, and shewed him the Pedigree and Armes, who liked it very well. And we gave him thanks on your behalfe.

Wee advysed with Mr. Wood what was fit to bee done to Sir Henry for effectinge it, who tould us we could not give him noe lesse then Ten peices (for it was in a generouse way, and therefore wee might not bee too sparinge), which we accordingly did; and wee

They may
make use of
them with
their due
differences of
Sexe and Age.

hope Sir Henry is well content, though hee sayd hee hath had XX^{li} for the like, but because you were my Lord Chiefe Baron's ffriende hee said hee was well pleased with it ; Though I thinke if other Ten peices had beene offered him, hee would not have rejected them. And he procured the approbation of Garter principal Herald. Mr. Wood advysed us likewise to give unto Reyley 4 or 5 peices, in respect he had tooke much paynes about it, and that my Lord Cheife Baron had used him as an Instrument to bringe Sir H. St George unto him, and that Reyley had beene many times with my Lord about it : And Sir Henry St George tould us that wee were much beholdinge to Reyley for his care herein : And to say the truth, hee hath expended much paynes about it ; Soe that wee gave him three peices, besides one peice inclosed in your Letter before, when Mr. Johnson was in Towne. And wee gave Mr. Wood twoe peices for his care and paynes herein, Besides about 3^{li} for serching the Records, drawinge of Armes, transcribinge of the Certificate and other Charges, &c. About XX^s of it was layd out before Mr. Johnson went out of towne. So that in the whole it hath cost about XIX^{li}.—I am sorry to make you soe long a bill, but hartily glad it costs noe more.

Thus farre, worthy St, we have adventured, presuminge upon your acceptance and approbation. Wee have left your name ho^{ble} in the office of Armes : And Ryley protests hee will proclayme & maynetayne your noblenes against all opponents. Wee will endeavor hereafter to know who gave information against you if we can. Though for my own parte, I retayne my first opinion.—I protest I doe not knowe wherein wee could have been more sparinge with out ecclipsinge your glory ; And fewe ever hold it more conveyent that you suffered in your purse, rather then in your reputation and credit. It beinge that you have carried yourselfe soe nobly at home wee might not disgrace you by being too tenacious abroade, and especially in this generouse and extraordinary way, and the rather wee enjoyninge our owne desyre in all things to the utmost.

What wee did was by the advyse of Mr. Wood, who I perswade myselfe doth really respect you, and did direct us in his best discretion, without any sinister respect, unto whom you may give thanks when you see him, for hee was careful to mind his Lord of

it, and to call unto Sir H. St George concerninge it. Wee did not deliver your letter to Mr. Wood because we were growen to an agreement before. I have beene too tedious in this (I hope unnecessary) apology, but my desyre to satisfy you particularly of all things, with the reasons thereof, hath made me thus prolix. Yf wee have erred in any thinge it hath beene out of our desyre to honour you. And if wee have displeased you in anythinge it hath beene out of our hartie endeavor to please you.

I thinke you may doe well to have your armes drawen & sett in a faire frame and hanged in your Hall or parlour, That such spectators that have heard hereof may take notice that you did noe more then what you have justified. Mr. Johnson may thinke of some pretty motto.

The constant reporte is in London that the Kinge will pricke noe Sheriffes untill next Terme at soonest, because untill the Shipp money has been collected His Ma^{tie} will not discharge the ould Sheriffes.

I imagine the reason is to hasten the Sherriffes payment. I suppose you may doe well to have yours ready y^e next terme; I shalbee hartily sorry for your trouble this Christmas. The change I perswade my selfe you will not soe much reguard, though I must confess twoe Christmasses in one Shrevalty is unusuall.

So humbly submitinge my Selfe and Service to your curteouse acceptance, I cease to bee further troublesome unto you at present, And with my prayers to God for y^r health & happiness, take leave ever restinge (till I must for ever rest),

From my Chamber over the
Chappell in Graye's Inne

At y^r woꝛppis Comand

J. LIGHTBOWNE.

10 November 1635.

Postsc.—Your Cozen George shewed mee your letter yesterday wherein you desired to be acquainted when the payment of the shipp money will be expected. I suppose your day is prefixed in your writt, or else you will receyve further order by letters; I shall certify you as I can understand hereof. I know your desire wilbee to bee one of the first, but the last tyme wee were so forward that wee made way for all the rest, which was most difficult to us, for wee were before the Lords about it.

13 Nov.—The Lord keepe you.

I pray you present my service and best respects unto your brother James and Mr. Johnson.

To the right wo^{ll} and his worthy friend
Humphrey Chetham Esq. High Sheriffe of the
County Palatyne of Lanc. theise present."

(7) "Right worshipfull and right worthy Sir,

My best observance premysed, with my Soul's-suyte for your health and happiness, &c.—I have received your letter, and am right glad to heare the Armes content you. You wryte, "they are not depicted in soe good Metall as those Armes wee gave for them." If you meane as those Armes which you sent up, I con-ceyve there is noe difference, save onely in the Crest, as I writt before; if otherwise, wee can cause them reformed:—if you meane as the pieces of Gould wee payd for them, I easily assent, for there is soe much difference betwixt Paynters Gould and Current Coyne. But you wryte, the Heralde will double his gayne when he meets with a Novice,—I proteste I consulted with myselfe, with you kinsman Mr. Wood, accordinge to your Directions, and others experienced in that way—And they thought lesse could not bee tendered for a Pedigree; and beinge out of Visitation, and that you had made bould with anothers Crest;—and to say Truth, I cannot yet satisfy myself how those Armes doe belong to Nuthurst, for the Records were to the contrary. But I durst not question that, wee are apt to believe things for our Benefett. Mr. Johnson could tell you how he lefte it, and how himselfe offred S^t H. S^t George X^{li} who would not take it; And wee could not offer lesse afterwards, though we made use of my Lord Chief Baron. Certeine I am, S^t H. S^t George was expectant of more; but I hope you are well content with my Endeavour.—Though I bee a yonge Man, yet I hope that did not disadvantage you at all. An elder Sollicitor might have fared worse,

Laudatus abundè
Si fastiditus non sum.—

From my Chamber on the
Chapell in Greye's Inn
9^o December, 1635.

Your wor^{pps} in all
obligation of duty
and Service

J. LIGHTBOWNE."

CHAPTER X.

IT has been stated to the prejudice of Humphrey Chetham that he was, like John-a-Combe, a hard usurer, and largely increased his property by charging an exorbitant amount of interest for money advanced by him to gentlemen in their straits and difficulties, and we find amongst his private papers instances which seem to corroborate the statement, *e.g.*, 4 February, 1633, lent to Sir William Brereton £100. In March, 1643, ten years "use" due, £80. 19 July, 1637, advanced to Sir William £300, and had security on lands at Ashton-on-Mersey, to be paid 20 July, 1638, "with due consideration." On 20 July, 1646, "four years use unpaid."¹ 22 January, 1635, advanced to Sir George Booth of Dunham £300, use 7 per cent.² 23 January, 1635, John Grenehalgh of Brandlesome, Esq., pays off £30, and asks permission to pay another £30 in a month, same interest,³ but on the 30 March he borrows £60 and sends security.⁴ 18 December, 1638, he again borrows £250, and his bondsmen are Savile Radcliffe of Todmorden, Esq., and Henry Byrom of Byrom, Esq., Mr. Grenehalgh paid use for three and a half years for £250—£70.⁵ On the 20 December, 1640, he again borrows £300, his bonds being Mrs. Marie Assheton of Middleton, Richard Holt of Ashworth, Esq., and Edward Rawsthorne of New Hall, Esq. "Use hath been paid for this sum for two years £48."⁶ Various sums were advanced to Richard Holt of Ashworth, Esq., so that on the 16 October, 1647, he writes to Humphrey Chetham on the sale of Cobbes Nabb in Bury parish in order to recoup him, and refers him to his (Holt's) father-in-law, Captain Grenehalgh, then with Lord Derby in the Isle of Man.⁷ On the 21 November, 1648, Mr. Grenehalgh, writing to

¹ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. i. p. 37.² *Ib.*, p. 13.³ *Ib.*, p. 15.⁴ *Ib.*, p. 24.⁵ *Ib.*, vol. iv. p. 24.⁶ *Ib.*⁷ *Ib.* vol. i. p. 88.

Mr. Chetham from Castle Rushen says "for the earnest desire I have that any thing that pertains to mee or my poore house should rather be put into your hands than any man's liveing, son Holt's own hands excepteth, haveing ever found you not onely upright and just in your dealing but so conscionable and respective of your friend, as also to deale really and freely with you because I desire from my heart to further my sone Holt in the best manner I may that he may not be compeld either to break off his sisters mariage or to gain money on harder termes than is meete for him that God knows hath beene so great a sufferer in those troblsome tymes. Therefore good loveing S^r let mee entreat you on faire and reasonable termes to furnish him with moneys. Thus S^r assuring you of my good health and hartily desireing yours with remembrances of my wyfe and my owne love and svce to y^o and to my Cosen James Walmsley, I remaine as I think myselfe sincerely bound S^r Y^r affectionate friend to serve you."¹

In the following year Brandlesome itself was in the possession of Humphrey Chetham, and he paid Mr. Richard Holt for seed-corn, hay, oats, &c., delivered to him there.² In January, 1650, Mr. Holt raised money on his lands in Butterworth in Rochdale to repay Humphrey Chetham,³ and in April, 1651, he writes, "I am still willing to morgage my lands in Butterworth to you, only I beseech you bee pleased soe fare to consider my condition as to lay downe some considerable summ more then you have formerly offered."⁴

In the reflection which has been cast upon Mr. Chetham on account of his high interest it has been overlooked that from the 21 Jac. (1624), interest was legally charged after the rate of eight per cent.,⁵ and in 1660 (12 Car. II. c. 13), it was restricted to six per cent. In 1642 the Lords and Commons promised interest for money, advanced for reducing the malignant party in Lancashire, at the rate of eight per cent.,⁶ and on several

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. i. p. 160.

² *Ibid.* p. 106.

³ *Ib.* p. 114.

⁴ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. i. p. 168.

⁵ Act 21 Jac., c. 17.

⁶ Rushworth's *Hist. Collect.*, vol. v. p. 67; N. & Q., 4 Series, vol. xii. p. 196.

occasions Humphrey Chetham himself paid this sum, and on one hereafter mentioned, declined receiving for money which he had advanced the large rate of interest which was voluntarily offered. In 1633, January 10, his nephew George Chetham has recorded in his diary, "Paid my Uncle Humphrey Chetham for the use of £500 for 12 mo. when I was in Lancashire £40. P^d my uncle H. C. for the use of his two servants £24." On the 14 February, 1634, he paid £10 for the use of £300 for six months,¹ and November 16, 1636, he paid "Mr. Day the abatement for £116 10s., after the rate of 8 per cent. ; att 6 months, £4 13s. 6d." If his personal friendships and interests were united they do not seem at any time to have come in collision, and his integrity and honour were never suspected by these Royalists, nor is there anything to show that his aid on urgent and we may hope legitimate occasions, was not ready, generous, and useful.

Mr. Chetham was not a speculator in land, but he appears, like most Englishmen, to have considered it the safest and best of all investments, and was always ready for a purchase. In 1630 he was negotiating with Mr. Radcliffe of Langley, in the parish of Middleton, for his estate there, but the terms were not satisfactory to one of the contracting parties, as no sale or purchase took place. Mr. Chetham ascertained that there were sixteen farms occupied by tenants, and two cottages out of lease, the demesne of Langley consisting of five score and nine acres, the tenants paying boons, hens, capons, and days of shearing, and the income being £160 a year and boons. The sum asked was £2,400.²

In 1631 he was corresponding with Mr. William Radcliffe, of Ordsall, near Manchester, and in 1634 with Sir Cecil Trafford, relative to the affairs of Sir Alexander Radcliffe,³ but it was subsequent to the year 1634 that Humphrey Chetham obtained by purchase a considerable portion of that ancient estate, which, like

¹ *MS. Diary.*

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. ii.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 5-7.

In 1635 Mr. Chetham leased some of his Ordsall lands to Sir Cecil Trafford and Thomas Prestwich, Esq., for a rent of £120 a year.

so many others, was ultimately lost to the Radcliffe family through the Civil War. In May, 1646, he rebuilt the great barn at Ordsall, and gave at the rearing 20s. On the 2 October, 1647, he paid a moiety of the rent of Ordsall, due to the King, in the Bailiwick of Salford, the other moiety to be paid by Sir Alexander Radcliffe.¹ Mr. Chetham farmed the tithe corn of Ordsall, lying within Eccles parish, of Christopher Anderton of Lostock, Esq., and it, as well as the King's rent, was afterwards sequestered by the Parliament. As a proof of the extreme destitution of some members of the Radcliffe family, after the loss of half of their estate, Humphrey Chetham advanced in 1648 to Humphrey Radcliffe of Ordsall, gent., £35, and several small sums to John Radcliffe of Attleburgh, in Norfolk, Esq. Edward Chetham, the nephew of Humphrey Chetham, in 1657, advanced £300, and in 1658 £5 to the same John Radcliffe, in the same year £5 to Frances Radcliffe, and in the following year £13 6s. to Dame Jane Radcliffe, of Ordsall.

An instance, perhaps not uncommon in that century, of the ruinous nature of excessive interest fell under the notice of Humphrey Chetham, as he was personally involved in it. It appears that on the 7 August, 1620, Giles Ainsworth of Ainsworth, Gent. (whose will is dated 13 Nov., 1620), and his wife Ciceley, daughter of Edward Butterworth of Belfield Hall, Rochdale, Esq., conveyed to Richard Banister of Oakenbotham, Gent. (who married Katherine his daughter and co-heir), and to Laurence Fogg of Darcy Lever, Gent., certain lands in Ainsworth, Tonge, and Brightmet, in the Parish of Bolton, as trustees, who mortgaged the same to Humphrey Chetham for £600. The interest was fixed and continued at ten per cent. until the Statute made 21 Jac., at which time £60 had become due. The interest was unpaid, and accumulated for twenty-six years, and from the passing of the Statute, until 1649, was at the rate of 8 per cent., and amounted to £1,248, in all to £1,958. Philip Strangeways, Esq., who had married one of the co-heiresses of

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. i. p. 113. George Chetham's Diary.

Mr. Giles Ainsworth, was dissatisfied with some of the proceedings of the trustees, and threatened legal measures. Mr. Banister, writing to Humphrey Chetham on the 22 October, 1649, observed, "my Cosen Fogg and Mr. Dickenson may if they please join you and myself against Mr. Strangeways in the Suit. I have already retained Mr. Haworth and Mr. Lightbowne [barristers], so with my humble love and duty presented, and hartie thanks for your manie and great continued favours, he taketh leave, who shall not cease to be yours, in all dutie bounden, whilst he is—Richard Banester." Mr. Chetham discouraged an appeal to the law, and, in the interest not so much of himself as of others, advised the adoption of a more reasonable and less expensive course. His good advice was followed, and on the 20 September, 1651, Philip Strangeways of Ainsworth, Esq., and Anne his wife, agreed with Richard Bannister of Brightmet, Gent., Laurence Fogg of Darcey Lever, Gent., and Edward Croston of Clayton Hall, servant to Humphrey Chetham, Esq., on behalf of his master, who agreed by the mediation of Nicholas Cunliffe, William Booth, Roger Gillibrand, and William Peake, Gent., friends indifferently chosen, that on the payment of £1,225 on the 2 February next to the said Fogg and Chetham, as Mr. Lightbowne shall appoint, the estate of Ainsworth shall be reconveyed to Mr. Strangeways and his wife, they confirming the leases made by Mr. Bannister and his late son Henry, and Fogg, and also the sales of land made to Richard Dickenson, deceased, and Adam Brooke. On 20 September, 1652, Chetham received £1025, and Fogg received £200.¹

In 1641 Humphrey Chetham lent £2000 to Sir Edward Mosley of Hough End, repayment in a year being guaranteed by a bond dated 24 August, 1641,² bearing the signatures of Sir Edward Mosley and his mother and sister, both named Anne. The interest to be paid for the accommodation was eight per cent, but the troubles of the Civil Wars prevented the repay-

¹ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 43, vol. ii. p. 112., vol. i. pp. 172-186.

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 143.

ment of the loan or payment of interest. After a long delay recourse was had to the sureties in the belief that they would be able to influence Sir Edward to pay his debts. This being without avail Humphrey Chetham commenced an action in the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, and judgment was obtained against Mosley in Trinity Term, 1649, when Chetham's claim stood as follows :—

| | | | | | |
|--|---|---|------|----|----|
| The principall lent 24 ^o Aug., 1641 | - | - | 2000 | 00 | 00 |
| Interest for 2000 ^{li} from 24 ^o August, 1641, to | | | | | |
| 14 ^o Martij, 1649, being 8 years 6 monthes | | | | | |
| and $\frac{1}{2}$ at 160 ^{li} p ann. w ^{ch} is 13 ^{li} 6 ^s 8 ^d p men- | | | | | |
| sem, amounts to | - | - | 1366 | 13 | 4 |
| Charges of suit | - | - | 0061 | 05 | 00 |
| | | | 3427 | 18 | 4 |
| Whereof rec ^d Decemb., 1648 | - | - | 600 | 0 | 0 |
| So remains 14 Martij 1649 | - | - | 2827 | 18 | 4 |

Several interesting letters referring to this transaction are preserved in the *Chetham MSS.*, and have been printed at length by Mr. Booker in his *History of the Ancient Chapels of Didsbury and Chorlton* (Chetham Society), pp. 149-157. It is evident from them that Chetham was a forbearing creditor. On the award being made, Sir Edward proposed to grant a mortgage on his Leicestershire estates, but the proposal was clogged with the liquidation of a claim by Mr. William Allestrye, of Derby, and, after protracted negotiations, Chetham decided to proceed no further. The money never came into his hands, and the affair was left to his executors to settle, for we find a "release," dated 1 November, 1656, from this Anne Mosley of Hough Hall, late wife of Rowland Mosley, Esq., for 4000^{li} debt, and 37^{li} damages, obtained by judgment at Westminster, 1649.¹

The case of Robert Tatton, of Wythenshawe, Esq., is another instance of the straits in which many of the local gentry found

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 204.

themselves during this period. The residence of that distinguished royalist suffered a long siege, and was finally taken by the Parliamentary forces under Colonel Robert Dukenfield, in February, 1643-4. About two years later his estates were sequestered by Parliament, and he had to pay a fine of £707 13s. 4d., by way of composition. In the "particular" of his estate, which was submitted to the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents, in December, 1646, it is stated that "he hath been damnified by these unhappie warrs by the loss of his goods, rents, decay of his howsing and sale of trees to the value of £2,500."¹ Mr. Tatton had a difficulty in raising the money, and he applied, through Ralph Brideoake (at that time in the service of the Earl of Derby, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester), to Humphrey Chetham for a loan of £2,500, on the security of his estates in Wythenshawe and Northen. After some delay, Chetham wrote on 24 October, 1647, "if you will convey unto mee your whole estate not onely in Withenshawe and Northen, and the milles, but also in Peele and Etchells, its like I shall furnish you with 1250^{li} for the present to take of your sequestration and the statute, and make you a lease of all back again—100^{li} per ann^m."² On 29 October, 1648, John Rogerson wrote to his master Humphrey Chetham, "I received a letter this day from Mr. Tatton . . . Theree is an extent now to be sitten against his land att the suite of Major Radcliffe, the unnecessary charge whereof hee would faine avoid (if it were possible). And therefore is resolved to sell the mannors of Withenshawe and Northen, and therefore desires you may have the first refusall of an absolute sale thereof, for the Halle of Withenshawe is known to be as gallant a seate as any Cheshire affords."³ A few days subsequently, on 8 November, 1648, Brideoake wrote from Withenshawe to Humphrey Chetham, as follows:—

"I have given Mr. Tatton a full assurance of yo^r good will towards him, and particularly acquainted him with yo^r intentions to

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 77. See also Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 316.

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 85.

³ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. vi. p. 111.

redeeme him from his troubles, by a present dispatch of his desires. He has reconciled me to yo^r owne sense in y^t particular concerning the milles wherein you and I differ'd. The Demesnes of Withinshaw and Peele, with all his Tenants in the mannor of Etchells & Northenden, with y^e mills also for the security of 2,500^{li}: And indeed lesse than that summe will doe him no good, inasmuch as he has now lost these two yeares Revenues, of his estate, which were depolited and secure till these last troubles. Sr, I shall not need to importune you againe in this behalfe, having found you so much inclined of yo^r owne accord to doe him what courtesy you may; onely I humbly crave leave to remember you y^t dispatch in this busines does much exalt yo^r favor; his children, his creditors, his estate, and honor calling for a speedy hand to deliver them from absolute ruin. He desires Mr. Lightbowne may draw y^e articles according to yo^r owne directions, and that you will be pleased to appoint a day when Mr. Twiford may wait upon you, to se the articles, and to come to an absolute close of the Busines. Sr, I shall adde no more, but my prayers to God for you, y^t he will prolong yo^r life, to doe many such acts of mercey and piety to the distressed, which must certainly give you content here and happiness hereafter."¹

A deed of sale was accordingly drawn up, which interesting document is still among the Clowes family papers, but it bears the signature of Humphrey Chetham only, and was evidently not fully executed. It is dated 24 March, 1648[-9]. From a draft of covenant we learn that three months earlier (29 December, 1648) Chetham had lent Tatton £2,500 for seven years at the interest of £260 per annum.²

There is abundant evidence in the correspondence which has been preserved in the *Chetham MSS.* that Chetham's honourable character and considerate methods produced in those with whom he had business transactions feelings of the utmost friendliness and gratitude. In this connection the following letter from Mr. Tatton may be quoted. Writing from Wythenshawe

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 112.

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 114.

on 11 February, 1649 (perhaps 1649-50), he says:—

. . . I blushe that I am to make an excuse for my not visitinge you of for soe longe, surely Sr it was and is beyonde my intention so to have don, seeinge I have founde you so pure and p'fecte a patriott and protector of mee and myne, equallie if not above parents; which I shall alwaies thankfully acknowledge, and bee reallye readye to serve and honor you as (next under God) my principall preserver: my occations have beene and yet for a while will bee such (in husbandry and other reparations) that I could not (nor p[er]case maye suddenlye) attende and salute you (as I intended more frequently to doe), wherefore I have sente this dull paper by my man to begge your patience, and desire to knowe of your wellfare, and by him I presume to presente unto you three braces of partridges (the poor tribute of one soe much engaged to you). Had wether been seasonable, I resolved eare this to have tendred you a larger proportion (as creatures sutable to your weake stomacke), in the meanetime and till I canne speake for myselfe and showe a more respecte I intreate you to accepte hereof as cominge from the reall affection and gratitude of him who is

Sr your ever engaged friend and servant,

Robert Tatton.¹

It is seen from the foregoing examples and from further evidences in the *Chetham MSS.* that Humphrey Chetham and his nephew and successor George, as men of capital, and having a large amount of unemployed money, were long in the habit of advancing various sums on various securities, to a large class both of needy gentlemen and traders. The system of banking credit and foreign exchanges was unknown, and the principle of currency, discount, and commerce generally was not understood as it has been in subsequent times. It is not too much to say that Humphrey Chetham was one of the early Lancashire bankers, and the system he had adopted was perpetuated by George Chetham, whose ledgers show on what an extensive scale these monetary transactions were carried on by him. If these good men were what is vaguely called "money lenders," they were without any imputation upon

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 115.

their character, and without forfeiting their position as gentlemen. There was nothing mean, base, or false in their proceedings. That Humphrey Chetham was fortunate in his investments and judicious in his loans may be fairly assumed, and his practical habits and intimate knowledge of character, in the midst of public distractions and difficulties, were probably the secrets of his success.

CHAPTER XI.

HUMPHREY Chetham continued on the most friendly terms with Mrs. Isabella Chetham, the widow and sole executrix of his brother George, and none of the inconveniences foreshadowed in his will occurred. She lived at Newton, near Manchester, and possessing a considerable personal estate and no family ties, it might have been expected that from her gentle birth, education, and social position, she would have had little knowledge of trade, and less inclination to be connected with it. Such was not the case. She continued for some years to have mercantile transactions in London and Manchester, and her brother-in-law, Humphrey Chetham, as well as her husband's nephew, George, were her counsellors, and the latter her agent. She had both gains and losses in her trading. On the 2nd May, 1627, Humphrey Chetham was "intreated to receive of Mr. Robert Hough of Manchester" the sum of £257 15s., and to hold it for her benefit, at her husband's request, he being servant to Mrs. Isabel Chetham, widow, sister-in-law of Mr. Humphrey Chetham, who engaged to dispose of the money, as his said relative should appoint. Whether this sum was disposed of in charity is uncertain, but on the 8th June, in the same year (1627), Mr. Robert Marshall received the money "for the use of his mistress, Mrs. Isabella Chetham," by the hands of Mr. Thomas Heywood, servant to Mr. Humphrey Chetham.¹ On the 28th February, 1626-7, she conveyed by sale to Humphrey Chetham all her late husband's share of the

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 25.

household goods and farming stock at Clayton. On the 28th November, 1628, William Sparke of Manchester, gent., conveyed to Mrs. Isabella Chetham of Newton, widow, two leasehold messuages in Chetham, one of which was leased by Edward, Earl of Derby, K.G., 26 Eliz., to John Pendleton of Chetham, gent., Francis, his son, and John, his grandson, for their joint lives, being a local family at that time of antiquity and eminence, and the other being leased by Sir Nicholas Mosley, deceased, in 1610, to John Pendleton the younger, merchant, for his life, and for 21 years afterwards. John Pendleton had been much connected with the Chethams in business transactions, and having become a bankrupt, Charles Haworth of Salford, Esq., counsellor at law, Oswald Mosley of Ancoats, Esq., Francis Lockyer and Edward Massie of Manchester, merchants, the commissioners of the bankruptcy for the payment of the creditors, sold this portion of the effects for £200, and it was assigned to Mrs. Chetham, apparently one of the sufferers.

On the 1st November, 1632, Mr. George Chetham received, by appointment of his uncle Mr. Humphrey Chetham, of Giles Meadowcroft, £5 9s. 9d., being a difference in money of his aunt, Mrs. Isabel Chetham, and of his uncle Humphrey "concerning John Kay's debt." Also £7 13s. for fustians which belonged to his said aunt, and were brought into his said uncle's account by mistake, and afterwards she lost money by "Moston fustians which were faultie."¹ On the 26th September, 1633, he wrote from London to his uncle about a bad debt, in which Mrs. Isabel Chetham was a loser, being a trade speculation with his uncle. He says, "I doe perceive that money is scarce in the countree and I am behoulding to you for lettinge your men have money for my use, which I thanke you very kindly for. I have not yet paid Mr. Croston's £121; he is content to stay. My father Johnson writt me last week [that] this harvest he received but little money, otherways hee would have supplied

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 50.

your men for this tyme."¹ And added to Mrs. Isabel's other casualties in trade her agent accounts for three ends of dyed fustians eaten with the Rats, £2.²

29th Jan., 1637-8. Paid for a couple of Linseys for Mrs. Isabel Chetham £0 6s. 4d.

23rd Oct., 1638. Paid for Sugar for my Aunt Mrs. Is. C. £1 14s. 9d.

Paid Rich. Cudworth for his brother John (of Werneth) taken up of my Aunt Chetham £4 os. 0d.

26 Aug., 1639. Paid Mrs. Isabel C. by Exchange £30 os. 0s.

6th Sept., 1639. Paid for 12 Hartichocks for my Aunt Chetham £0 4s. 4d.

28th Nov., 1639. Paid Mrs. Sarah Chapman for her Sister Mrs. Isabel Chetham to be repaid in Manchester to Geo. Travis £20.

Paid John Hulme for Mrs. Isabel Chetham by Exchange £50.

3rd Nov., 1640. Rec. of Mrs. Isabel Chetham for Grocery at London £0 11s. 0d.

May 5th, 1642. Gave to my Aunt's maid, Elizabeth 2/-

On the 2nd August, 1641, Mrs. Isabel Chetham conveyed to George Chetham and George Travis (two of her late husband's nephews) certain lands in trust for her brother-in-law, Humphrey Chetham, "to be disposed of for such uses as he, by his last will, or otherwise, should direct and appoint,"³ and there can be no reasonable doubt that the instructions which she had given to him found expression in his own will, in which he alludes to this bequest, and that his noble charities were considerably augmented by the liberality of his elder brother, and his elder brother's wife. This lady died in 1650.

Humphrey Chetham did not always escape the casualties attending commercial transactions, but suffered from his dealings with men who, when unsuccessful in trade were called "unfortu-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

² *Geo. Chetham's Diary.*

³ Humphrey Chetham's Will.

nate." Bad debts and bankruptcies occur amongst his accounts and, if not frequent, now and then disturbed him, and also his nephew George, both of whom lived so far north, that it might have been supposed they would have known better than to trust too implicitly doubtful southerners; but there was one event of this description which happened to Humphrey Chetham in his own immediate neighbourhood, and in the family of one with whom he lived in intimate communication and friendship, notwithstanding some important differences of judgment with them both in religion and politics. Mr. James Jollie, of the Clock House in Droylsden, had a considerable part of the Clayton demesne leased to him in 1635 by Mr. Chetham, as a rent of £300 a year was agreed to be paid for ten years,¹ but in 1640 Mr. Jollie's affairs were involved and inextricable, and other creditors were importunate as well as the Lord of Clayton. He probably became a bankrupt as all his household furniture, silver plate, pewter, farming stock, and other personal effects were sold. Humphrey Chetham has recorded one item of the sale which seems to afford an insight into his own taste for literature, and proves that Mr. Jollie was a young man fairly educated. "Item 225 Bookes mentioned in a catalogue in my hands." The inventory of the goods apparently bought by Humphrey Chetham included pewter dishes and plates, 1 salt-cellar, 11 silver spoons, 1 silver cup, 1 silver beaker, parcel gilt, 11 milk kine, 1 bull, &c.² It is to be regretted that the catalogue has not been discovered, but it is tolerably clear that the library had been secured by the landlord.

Mr. Jollie married Elizabeth Hall of Droylsden, widow, who had a daughter, who afterwards became the wife of Mr. Adam Martindale, whose interesting Autobiography has been printed by the Chetham Society.³ Jollie became a Parliamentary soldier as soon as the war commenced. He was appointed by Fairfax in 1643 to the obnoxious office of Provost Marshal

¹ *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 155.

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iv. pp. 28-30.

³ *Life of Martindale*, p. 71.

General in Lancashire, and in 1647-8 he was commissioned Quarter Master of Colonel Duckinfield's Regiment. He had prospered after his bankruptcy, as he raised a company for Colonel Duckinfield's Regiment and served with it in Ireland. Major Jollie was the father of three sons, educated no doubt at Manchester Grammar School, in which parish they were born, and afterwards at Cambridge. Of these, Robert was the Governor of Lancaster Castle, John became an Independent preacher, and Thomas was afterwards the sturdy minister of Altham, and ejected in 1662.¹ Hunter says that Major Jollie was "the ancestor of a large family, in which there were many Ministers, some of them of great eminence and usefulness."²

It is to be observed that Adam Martindale, who must have known Humphrey Chetham intimately, his charities and character, never mentions his name. Whilst Adam was the Presbyterian minister of Gorton, not far from Clayton Hall, he names that neighbouring "Churches" of his own persuasion were not "so amiable in the eyes of prudent Christians that dwelt nigh them as once they were," and that "divers gentlemen of the episcopal party were startled "by the heresies and schisms which prevailed."³ It is fair to infer that Humphrey Chetham "who dwelt nigh" to Gorton was one of the "startled" episcopalians.

It might be suggested that Mr. Chetham had acted with some harshness towards Mr. Jollie in his difficulties, and that the sale of his effects might be occasioned by some legal distrait on the landlord's part. Such would hardly be the case. Mr. Chetham seems to have entertained so favourable an opinion of his friend's integrity and honesty of purpose that in 1642 he nominated him one of four trustees in whom he invested £1000, the half of that

¹ The *Note Book of the Rev. Thomas Jolly*, with an account of the Jolly family, by Col. Henry Fishwick, was printed by the Chetham Society in 1894 (New Series, vol. 33).

² *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 49. See also Hunter's *Familæ Minorum Gentium* (Harleian Soc.), vol. iii. p. 1048.

³ *Life of Martindale*, pp. 74-75.

sum to be expended in the purchase of lands, and the produce being £25 per annum to be bestowed "upon poor, aged, and impotent people of Manchester, Salford, and Droylsden, by the churchwardens and overseers" annually; and the other moiety, being £500, to be invested in the purchase of lands, and the income being £25 a year, to be applied for the benefit of the stipendiary curates or ministers of Newton and Gorton, with a clause requiring the same clergymen to be "sufficient scholars, and masters of arts of the University of Oxford or Cambridge."¹ When Mr. Jollie became a member of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis, and Mr. George Clarke, the benefactor of Manchester, who was another of the trustees, died, Mr. Chetham cancelled the deed, and his original benefaction was suspended, if not lost. The last clause in Mr. Chetham's deed effectually excluded Adam Martindale, the Presbyterian minister of Gorton, from any participation in the benefaction, unless he could have shared it as "a sufficient scholar," which he undoubtedly was.

Humphrey Chetham had dealings with the manufacturers of Irish linen and other wares, and also sent his goods to the Irish markets, but the exchanges were not always satisfactory. We do not, however, find him employing influential laymen, as might have been expected, in settling such matters, and it seems somewhat incongruous to find him corresponding "about gathering in debts" with a learned and distinguished member of the household of Lord Strafford. This was Dr. Henry Tilson, at that time domestic chaplain to the Lord Deputy, and Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, and afterwards the persecuted and plundered royalist Bishop of Elphin. Whilst Tilson was vicar of Rochdale there seems to have been an intimacy between the two neighbours, doubtless owing to the congeniality of their principles, and it is pleasing to find Humphrey Chetham associated with such a man. Writing from Dublin the 7th February, 1634-5, Dean Tilson says:—

¹ Whatton's *History of Chetham's Hospital*, p. 170.

Sir,

I have not since my last Letter by Mr. Watson received any other moneys saving xxx^s from Mr. Aldridge for your use. Mr. Stapleton I heare is in towne of whom I expect payment this terme, otherwise I will put his bond in suit. I did relye upon Mr. Amias a gent. to whom I would have given a letter of Atturney to gather in the debts at Crookehaven but he, missinge of the Collectors place there, had no occasion to goe thither; so that I must crave the help of Sir Wiłm Hull a knight who liveth not farre distant who is expected here this Session of Parliam^t, or if you have any friend whom you will interest in this busines I will assign unto him (upon yo^r letter) my power and give my best assistance. Mr. Nettle who came into Lancashire is desirous to be employed, and inquireth after Leiftenant Stapleton and I feare will not much haste his payment, though after payment be made there will some thinge (as he saith) be due unto him which (without your Warrant) I shall be verie slacke to discharge. So upon the next occasion you shall heare further from me. In the meane space I comitt you to god's keeping.

Dublin this 7th of february, 1634[-5].

Your loving friend & servant,
Henrie Tilson.¹

Two months afterwards the Dean addressed his Manchester friend, still on matters connected with his Irish debts and debtors, and the kindly message sent to Bishop Bridgeman shows that Humphrey Chetham was not only personally acquainted with that prudent and discrete prelate, but was also recognised as his familiar friend and intimate associate.

Worthie Sir,

I did in a letter latelie signifie to Mr. George Syddall² whom you intrusted for the busines in this kingdom that one of Cloneis (whose name I now remember not) before Sir Henry Levis then one of the Masters of the Chancerrie and (according to Mr. Syddall's

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 79.

² A receipt for £5 was given by George Syddall of Milkwall Slade, co. Lanc., gent., to Humphrey Chetham of Claiton, Esq., for his paines taken in Ireland, about the debt of Thomas Chorley deceased. 12 Dec., 1634. *Chet. MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 102.

direction) now of late, the Lieutenant Stapleton himself, before Dr. Wiſſm Rives another Master of the Chancerie, have made oath that thirtie six pounds were paid to Chorleton of the debt of £45. The debt of x^s on the backside to be lent he denied and told me that he would either make present payment of the 9^{li} or give good securitie if I would deliver up the Bond, which I would not accept and so we dep'ted. But wthin a weeke or fortnight afterwards hearing that he was sicklie I sent my man to the Lieutenant, who had no money but p^mised that one Mr. Champion in Christchurch (upon deliverie of the Bond) should be my paymaster: and knowing him sufficient I tooke a note from him and delivered the Bond into his hands; for I hold it more fitting and safe to accept of this sūme without further suite and trouble than to incurre the hazard of all. Wherefore I have returned^y you the said nyne pounds and thirtie shillings formerly received from Mr. Aldridge: in all x^{li} x^s which according to this enclosed Note you are to receive of Mr. Philip Watson in Rachdale. I have sent a letter of Attorney to Mr. Paul Amias of Kinsale to aske and receive the Debts at Crookhaven, at w^{ch} place he now is (as I am this day informed) about yo^r business, wherein what is or can be effected (upon his letter unto me) you shall be further certified. I pray you present my dutie and service to the Right Reverend my verie good Lo. the Lo. Bishop of Chester, unto whose Lo^{pp} I would now have written had not the messenger call[ed] for this now in hand. So I comitt you to the protection of Th' almightie in Christ Jesus.

Yo^r loving friend and Servaunt,
Henrie Tilson.

Dublin Castle,
this 9th April, 1635.

Addressed—

To the Worshipfull his verie good
friend Humphrey Cheetam Esq.,
High Sheriffe of the countie of
Lancaster, these present at Clayton neare Manchester.¹

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 104.

From the following letter it appears that the Dean when in England had called upon his friend at Clayton Hall and had found him absent, but was still employed in furthering his Irish interests, and enquiring how he might best carry out Mr. Chetham's wishes.

Sir,

Since my cominge to Ireland Mr. Amias was here at Dublin, and wished me to send word to Mr. Boyle what should be done wth 2 Mares in his custodie. And because it was not my good happe to find you at Clayton neither have since that tyme received any direction what to do in that and other business w^{ch} concerneth you I could not resolve him therein. Mr. Slater, who upon Bond (conditionally as he ptends, and as you may pceive by the writings delivered you at Manchester) oweth you in the decedent's right some moneys, is put out of the Office he held at Crookehaven : and his state is suspected to be verie weake. If you please to inable and instruct me I shall do my uttermost indeavour to gather in what can be gotten. And so heartily comendinge myselfe to you, I rest

Yor verie lovinge friend,
Henrie Tilson.

Dublin Castle,
this 13 of Febr., 1635[-6].¹

About this time Mr. George Marshall, the private secretary of James Lord Strange, consulted Humphrey Chetham on a delicate matrimonial subject, and met with becoming attention from his friend, now an elderly bachelor. The lady's name is unknown, but she was probably a member of the Chetham family. The "sister" referred to as an excellent "go between" was probably the young widow of Ralph Chetham, Humphrey's youngest brother, who had died suddenly at St. Alban's, on his journey from London a few years before, leaving several children. They lived for some time at Turton with their mother, who appears to have been a sensible woman, and undertook the management of Humphrey Chetham's household. Dr. Fleming has seen a letter

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 102.

in which she is named as exercising much personal influence in his family, and with something akin to jealousy, her children are spoken of as being much, perhaps too much, noticed by their rich uncle. Frank Mosley was the husband of the step-daughter of James, eldest brother of Humphrey Chetham, and lived at Collyhurst Hall. He was a sound Episcopalian, an active royalist, strongly opposed to the Parliament, and suffered largely from fines and sequestrations.¹ He was one of the Manchester gentlemen who afterwards, along with Mr. Isaac Allen, the rector of Prestwich, entered into a controversial discussion with the Presbyterians on their principles as expressed in their book "The Censures of the Church revived," and as a consistent member of the English Church, at that time overthrown, maintained the episcopal form of Church Government.² We do not know what Mr. Chetham's views were on the subject on which he was consulted, but we can hardly suppose that he was like his contemporary Marmaduke Rawdon, the Yorkshire merchant, and the friend of Bishop Tilson before named who, as his biographer informs us, "though he naturally loved the company of women, yet he was always naturally averse to marriage, and sometimes dreaming he was married, hath wept in his sleep very much."³

Sir,

I have formerly written unto you what Conference I had wth Francke Mosley in so much as if I heare nothing from you of the matter itt is att an end before itt be begun : to your Sister I desire to be kyndly commended, she is an excellent Sollicitor, I pray hir indeavour either that way or for any other hopeful matche. In the meane time I rest thankful for that done by you so fairely and freely. I am glad to heare of your safely beeing att Preston on Friday night in your waie home and no littell pleased to hear how all things were done att the Assizes : I will forbear particulars least I should seem to flatter. I will not (if God will) be unmindfull of Venison for you against the next Assizes. I suppose a braise of

¹ *Sir Oswald Mosley's Family Mem.*, p. 23. ² *Ib.*, p. 38.

³ *Life of Rawdon*, Camden Soc., p. 78.

Bucks att least. I left as you direckted me a bond wth John Dawson for £50. I pray you lett the mony bee payd to this Bearer George Bannister my Servant. I have especiall occasion to use itt and therefore must intreate you not to send him emptie. If itt happen you have not all readie I pray you send what part you can spare and I will send for the rest a weeke or fortnight hence, so with my kynd respects unto you I rest

Your lovinge friend,

Geo. Marshall.

Latham,

March 24th, 1634.

An indorsement that the £50 was sent the next day by the bearer Geo. Bannister, who could not write his name.

Addressed—

To the Worshipfull Humphrey

Cheetam Esq. att his house att

Cleaton.¹

In the early part of the public disturbances Mr. Chetham, as a constitutionalist, acted with the Court, and not with the popular or country party. The moderation of the Parliament of 1640, commonly called the Short Parliament, having lasted only a few weeks, could not fail to be approved by him, and although averse to all public offices, he was appointed in April, 1641, High Collector of the two latter of four subsidies granted to the king by Parliament in November, 1640, in the county of Lancaster.² The appointment was made by Sir Gilbert Hoghton, Bart., William ffarrington, Esq., and Alexander Rigby, Esq., three of His Majesty's Commissioners, the two first being uncompromising royalists and knights of the shire. Great powers were vested in the Commissioners, who had authority to tax, levy and distrain by their officers, and Mr. Chetham discharged his duties cautiously and moderately. On the 20 Dec., 1641, Mr. John Lightbowne, the

¹ *Chetham MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 80.

² *Chetham MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 3. Appointment dated from Chorley, 29 April, 1641.

barrister, wrote to his cousin Walmsley, Mr. Chetham's steward at Turton, that Mr. Auditor Brindle of the Exchequer, refused to pass the High Collector's accounts for the subsidy, as he alleged that recusants had not been sufficiently assessed, and that certain errors, in one case amounting to eight groats, required amending. With great difficulty he obtained time for the revision of the return, until the next term. Before the arrival of that term, however, a new and acrimonious Parliament had been called, whose protracted deliberations secured for it the name of the Long Parliament. We cannot suppose that the violence of its proceedings, one of which was to vote the House of Lords as useless, would be regarded with favour by Mr. Chetham, and he soon discovered that he would receive no favours from the two county members, Raphe Assheton of Middleton, and Roger Kirkby, who had been returned to the Long Parliament. His subsidy accounts were still in abeyance, and it was discovered that he had failed to execute his commission to the extent contemplated, but not stated in the warrant directed to him, by the Royal Commissioners. He was informed in February, 1642, that the lands of wards as well as of recusants ought to have been assessed, and that he had subjected himself to a legal process for this omission of his duty, although he had received no official notice of it. The two members with a bad grace promised to endeavour to stay the process against him, "according to the desire" of the Commissioners. The mistake had been theirs, not his, but he found that he was likely to be the victim.

Instead of suggesting the remedy and pointing out how it could be most easily applied, Mr. Raphe Assheton, with a high hand and in an imperious tone, wrote to the collector and demanded an "answeare speedily,"¹ not only stating the exact sum he had collected, but also to whom he had paid it. The letter elicited a spirited yet conciliatory reply from Mr. Chetham, in which he fairly exonerated himself from all blame in the matter. He had neither been negligent nor dilatory in executing his duty

¹ Whatton's *Hist. Chet. Hosp.*, App. No. III., p. 278.

nor were his accounts complicated. He justly complained that his predecessor in the office had been allowed longer time, met with greater civility, and readily obtained his legal acquittance, whilst the money which he had collected was only paid to Alderman Pennington and Mr. Chamberlain Bateman¹ at the same time with his (Mr. Chetham's) own, nor had the lands of wards been in any way rated by his predecessor in office. Mr. Chetham enclosed copies of the receipts for his payments, which he thought would be "more satisfactory" to Mr. Assheton's "expectations," and "not amiss for clearing his (Mr. Chetham's) integrity," which he intimated had been suspected by his powerful and wealthy parliamentary neighbour, but he felt that the "hard rubs" which he had received were unmerited.²

The suspicion of his integrity roused his honest indignation, and he grew impatient of the intolerant spirit of the party opposed to him. He wrote with anxiety to Mr. Lightbowne to make an immediate search in the King's Bench and Common Pleas, to ascertain if "Humphrey Chetham, Esq., Richard Whitworth, Thomas Pycroft and eight others, had been *outlawed*,"³ and requested the lawyer to appear for them, and to learn if any process out of the Duchy Court had been issued against them, or any warrant in the country. The inquiry proved satisfactory, Mr. Chetham's friend, the Lord Chief Baron (Sir Humphrey Davenport) had acted as a willing mediator, and had caused all such legal proceedings as had been initiated to be immediately stayed, and he stated in his warrant that Mr. Chetham had already paid "nearly the total sum charged upon him," and that the mistake in omitting to assess the estates of wards or minors was the Commissioners', and, being amended, the said lands were rated, the rolls corrected, and the return ordered to be made in

¹ Whatton's *Hist. Chet. Hosp.*, App. No. III., p. 279.

² *Ibid.*, p. 279. There were collected in the Hundred for Salford for the *four* subsidies for the King, £580, and for the two latter of the four subsidies in Salford, West Derby and Leyland, £1,179 1s. 3d.

³ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. i. p. 238.

the following term.¹ Mr. Chetham was not slow in carrying out his new orders. In making his return he was informed that the Parliament required his certificate to be "upon oath," an exaction hitherto unknown.² It was not until the year 1646 that Mr. Chetham received his quietus or discharge from the Parliament.³

The strong feature of the puritans was their inveterate dislike to popery, and it may be feared that they did not always make a distinction between the creed and the professor. Mr. Chetham was not so blindly hostile to the Roman Catholics as to have no dealings with them, which was the case with some of his neighbours. He probably, like many English churchmen, disliked the penal laws, which were in his time very harsh against the Roman Catholics, but he had certainly no hostility to their persons, and extended to several members of that community a wide and generous benevolence. Perhaps few of the Roman Catholic gentlemen of his neighbourhood found in him a more sincere friend, or entertained a stronger personal regard for him than Christopher Anderton, of Lostock Tower, a now dismantled moated house about four miles to the west of Bolton. This gentleman adhered to the King through all his misfortunes, and bore arms in the royal service, and was a great sufferer for his loyalty. He had inherited from his grandfather, a successful lawyer, a plentiful but an encumbered estate.⁴ In 1635 he received a temporary loan of money, on application, from Mr. Chetham, whom he addressed as "his lovinge friend," on whom "he could rely."⁵ In a letter from Lostock, without date, addressed to Mr. Walmsley, the steward at Turton, on the subject of taxing tithes

¹ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. i. p. 228.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 251.

³ Whatton's *Hist. Chet. Hosp.*, App. No. III., p. 279.

⁴ Christopher Anderton was twice married, had thirteen children, and was succeeded at his death in 1650 by his eldest son Francis, who became the first baronet. Christopher is erroneously stated to have been killed or to have died in 1645, whilst defending Greenhalgh Castle, near Garstang, for the Earl of Derby. See Beamont's *Lanc. War*, Chet. Soc., pp. 60, 144; Rev. T. E. Gibson's *Lydiat Hall*, pp. 61-62,

⁵ *Chet. MSS.*

for raising Ship money, he compliments his friend Mr. Chetham, "nothing doubting that he should find him as equal and worthie as he (Mr. Anderton) and his ancestors had always hitherto found all others who had power to assess or lay the taxes of this county."¹ In March, 1643, he interceded with Mr. Chetham on behalf of a distressed widow and her family near Turton, whose husband had probably been in his employ.

Good Mr. Chetham,

After my heartie respects remembered may it please you to hear my suit on behalf of the wid^o of James Langeworth and her children who live near Turton. Her husband was slain in the late Siege and they are in great adversitie and if some reliefe might be had from the Co^mmittee by your means it w^d be verie seasonable. I trust to your public heart and notable virtues and co^mend the poor widow and her children to you. It gladdened me to hear that you had recovered from your sore sickness, and this bearer brings you a hare and two snipes.

from your loving friend,

Lostock this

Christ^r Anderton.²

17 March, '43.

Both these men seem to have been warm-hearted, charitable, and sympathetic, and each to have appreciated what was good in the other.

Worn out by fines, sequestrations, anxieties and losses, Mr. Anderton was contemplating the sale of the Great Tithes of Bolton. Mr. Chetham had claimed some prescriptive rights, and Mr. Anderton "valued the odds of overthrowing the claim at £250," and offered the whole of the tithes to Mr. Chetham for the sum of £1,250.³ It is not clear that the bargain was completed, as on the 14 October, 1648, the sequestered rent of the tithes was paid by Mr. Anderton.⁴

¹ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. i.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 86.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

CHAPTER XII.

IT was on the 6 September, 1643, that the Lords and Commons had ordered that the Deputy Lieutenants and Committees of Parliament of each county should choose "an able and sufficient person to be a Treasurer," to whom all money collected for the maintenance of the soldiers should be paid, and that he should issue the same upon warrant from seven or more deputy lieutenants resident in each county. On the 31 October, these last named high functionaries met at Manchester, and unanimously elected Mr. Humphrey Chetham as Treasurer; but knowing his invincibly retiring disposition, it was significantly resolved at the same meeting that "if he refuse," the Parliament House should be informed, and their "resolution therein" desired.¹ This ungracious proceeding looks something like a threatening that Elsing and his officials knew how to carry their point, and to impose burdens upon one known to be able to bear them. The deputy lieutenants knew their man. He had already acquitted himself with strict impartiality and forbearance in an official capacity which required temper and moderation, and he had the reputation of being a shrewd man of business, who possessed the faculty, not always found in deputy lieutenants, of looking carefully into his ledger and balancing his accounts. Besides, he had a large territorial estate, and was well fitted to have charge of the county purse. He might also think that in the gloomy state of affairs which everywhere existed it would be advantageous to the public interests, and not injurious to his own, were he to act as Treasurer, in a sort of neutral capacity, and not to imperil the county by refusing the office.

¹ Whatton's *Hist.*, App. No. IV., p. 281.

He was also one who had secured the general confidence of the public, and who abstained from all unnecessary interference with national affairs, being probably very much occupied with his own business and books, and having neither leisure nor inclination for party politics.¹

On the 19 January, 1643-4, an order for raising money in the county was issued in the following terms, signed Thomas Fairfax, Thomas Stanley, Ralph Assheton, Richard Holland, and Robert Hyde.²

Whereas the Army of the Enemy are very potent, cruel, and violent, and even ready to assaulte & devoure us & our neighbours (without makinge any distinction of persons) unlesse by Gods assistance & our timely endeavour there be some speedie prevention, which cannot be done by any ordinarie meanes, without the raysinge & maintaing of extraordinary forces, which in these tymes of eminent danger, we are enforced to doe, therefore for the support & maintenance of the same forces in some reasonable & proportionable manner, it is ordered as followeth, First that an assessment of five hundred pounds by the weeke beinge proportionable to the sune mencioned in an ordinance of Parliament, be made & levied in the County of Lancaster, towards the charge aforesaid, in an equal and proportionable way, accordinge to the usuall and accustomed manner: And that the moneys soe levied be from tyme to time collected & paid monthly unto Humfrey Chetham of Turton Esquire, appointed Treasurer for that purpose, which Treasurer is to pay the same over immediately to the Treasurer of the Army, so as a just accompte thereof may be rendered when it shalbe required. And that the first monthes pay shall begin on the first day of February next, and soe from thence to continue weekly to be paid monthly as aforesaid. Alsoe it is ordered that the estates reall and personall of Papists and delinquents in this County accordinge to the severall ordinances of Parliament shalbee duely sequestered, & imployed for the purpose aforesaid, And that

¹ Canon Raines's *Life of Humphrey Chetham* breaks off here. All that follows has been compiled by his present unworthy continuator.

² *Chet. MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 18; Whatton, p. 281.

other sumes of money shalbe likewise forthwith raysed & advanced for the Same purpose upon the publike ffaith, propositions of Parliament or otherwise, Accordinge to the Ordinance of Parliament in such cases provided. As shalbe thought fitt and that the said sumes shalbe paid likewise to the said Treasurer as aforesaid and that the Troopes of horse shalbe from tyme to tyme recruted as occasion shall require. Dated this 19th of January 1643

THO : FAIRFAX
TH. STANLEY
RAPHE ASSHETON
RICHARD HOLLAND
ROBT HIDE

Two days later General Fairfax marched from Manchester with 2,500 foot and twenty-eight troops of horse to the relief of Nantwich ; and on the 23 January he wrote from Knutsford to those left in charge of the garrison at Manchester,

“ I desire you would not faile speedily to send to the Armie for the necessarie supply thereof tenne Barrells of powder and two thousand weight of match, and if it fall out your store for match will not afford soe much there must be care taken to provide soe much among the tradesmen in the towne, and to assure them that they shall receive moneyes for the same out of the first moneyes that come in upon the assessment. The truth is there must be noe disputes in it, the match must be had from such as have it, and whosoever shall hinder or retard the same, must be lookt upon as enemies to the success of the whole expedition. . . . I pray you let a publick care be expressed in your redynes to accomodate us in all things which we conceive necessary for the service of the Commonwealth.”

The two thousand pounds weight of match was promptly supplied by William Sunderland, and sent away the same day to the army by George Pendleton, the bill, at sevenpence a pound, amounting to £65 6s. 6d., being paid by Humphrey Chetham, as Treasurer for the county, on 17 February.¹

¹ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. i. p. 18.

On 27 February, 1643-4, Raphe Assheton wrote to "his loving friend Humphrey Chetham Esq. at Turton," informing him that the deputy lieutenants had agreed "at our generall meetinge the last weeke save one at Manchester, that the present weekly tax for a month should bee paid to Sir Thomas Fayrfaxe." He was therefore "desyred to paye so much moneys this daye at Manchester, unto Sir Thomas or whom he shall appoint here to receive it, as is already come to your hands, and that you will cause the names of such in the devysions of Bolton and Middleton as have not payed their proportons of the said Taxe to bee certyfyed unto Mr. Bradshawe, [John Bradshaw of Bradshaw] who is desyred to take such course with them as maye cause the same [to be] payd."¹ Even with the assistance of Mr. Bradshaw, the Treasurer found it impossible to collect the required money. Fairfax, writing on 23 March, complains that part of the monthly sum of £2,000 is yet "behind and unpaid," and he orders that the Treasurer "shall immediately upon the receipt of the said arreres paye the same to Colonell John Lambert."² Another month passes when an order comes from Fairfax that Chetham must "pay unto Colonell Ashton the money in arreare and yet unreceived by mee,"³ and apparently the poor Treasurer was to pay the money whether he had received it himself or not.

Wearied out by the worries of his public duties, Chetham sent up a petition to the House of Commons praying to be discharged from the office of Treasurer of monies of the county. It is not surprising that the petition did not meet with the desired result.

An ordinance of Parliament was issued on 10 July, 1644, for the payment out of the "excise or new impost" of £3,000, for the Parliamentary forces in Lancashire, then in "great want and distress;" and on the 28 September another ordinance providing for £1,500 out of the unpaid contributions for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral. These sums were to be paid to Humphrey

¹ Whatton, p. 283.
Whatton, p. 284.

² *Ibid.*, p. 284.

³ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 28 ;

Chetham, as Treasurer for the county, and by him disbursed on the order of the deputy lieutenants.¹ These gentlemen proceeded to issue sundry warrants for payments, of which the following have been preserved :—

| | | | | |
|---|-------|----|----|--|
| To Mr. William Sunderland ... | £1743 | 6 | 0 | For ammunition. |
| „ Mr. W. Robert Massey, of Warrington. | 340 | 6 | 7 | For ammunition. |
| „ Mr. Wm. Samyne | 125 | 15 | 0 | For ammunition. |
| „ Mr. Jas. Wainwright, of London, | 709 | 5 | 0 | For ammunition and arms. |
| „ Mr. Richard Foxe | 200 | 0 | 0 | For losses and services. |
| „ Thomas Stanley, Esq., of Alderley, | 150 | 13 | 0 | For cheese for the troops. |
| „ Mr. Isaac Watlington, Master Gunner of Ordnance | 100 | 0 | 0 | For pay and services. |
| „ Mr. Henry Cockcroft, of Heptonstall, carrier, | 186 | 6 | 10 | For carriage of ammunition to London, &c. |
| „ Mr. James Wainwright, of London, | 240 | 0 | 0 | For six score cases of pistols for recruiting and furnishing the troops. |
| „ Mr. Arthur Borron, of Warrington, gent., | 600 | 0 | 0 | For great losses (on account of his affection for the cause) by fire and imprisonment. |
| „ Mr. Rich ^d Abraham, of Warrington, Salter, | 242 | 0 | 0 | For losses by fire by the enemy. |
| „ Mr. Henry Wyld, of Castle-ton, | 185 | 0 | 0 | For arms for the troops of the county. |

¹ Whatton, pp. 287-8. *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 49-50.

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|----|---|---|--|
| To Capt. Edward Mosley ... | 20 | 0 | 0 | Borrowed to pay his troops. |
| „ Lient.-Col. Roseworthe ... | 20 | 0 | 0 | Arrears of pay. |
| „ Lieut.-Col. Roseworthe ... | 49 | 3 | 5 | Do. and for em- ployment and services in the county. ¹ |

These fifteen items come to a total of £4,911 15s. 10d., or £411 more than the Treasurer was to receive. Like a true business man he declined to execute the warrants, and on 20 November, 1644, the deputy lieutenants wrote to ask for an explanation, requiring from him a statement in writing of the “reasons and grounds such of your deniall, that soe we may render an accompt to the Parliament and may better know how to proceed in the premises.”²

Chetham’s reply does not appear to have been preserved.

The following interesting statement shows Humphrey Chetham’s expenditure and losses occasioned by the war, from 1642 to the end of 1645. It is found in duplicate (with a few variations) in the *Chetham MSS.* (vol. ii. pp. 21 and 31). One copy is dated February 2, 1645, *i.e.* 1645–6, and at the top is written “This was the former copie being returned in againe.” It is signed at the end by Humfrey Chetham. The other is dated March, 1646, with a note that “this is a copie of the originall which was given to James Walmisley.” It is probable that the statement may have been drawn up in connection with some claim by Chetham for compensation, but further details are wanting.

An Accompt of all Taxes and Leyes and other charges for the use of the publick wthin the Hundred of Salford made by Humphrey Chetham of Turton, as followeth :—

An Accompt of moneys p^d upon Proposiçons of Parliam^t.

P^d to Mr. Edw. Holbrooke and Mr. Edward Johnson both of Manchest^r the 15th daie of Novemb.

1642 the sūme of - - - - - 140 00 00

¹ Whatton, pp. 288–9; *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v., pp. 54–59.

² Whatton, p. 289.

| | | | | | |
|--|---|---|-------|----|----|
| Pd to Mr. Alexander Norres and Mr. Jo. Okey both of Bolto ⁿ the 28th day of January 1642 | - | - | 100 | 00 | 00 |
| Pd more to Mr. Alex. Norres and Mr. Jo. Okey the 27th day of febr. 1642 | - | - | 100 | 00 | 00 |
| Pd to Mr. Tho. St. Nicholas in Manchester the 20th of March 1643 | - | - | 100 | 00 | 00 |
| | | | <hr/> | | |
| | | | 440 | 00 | 00 |

An Accompt of taxes and leys wthin Turton in y^e Parish of Bolton
pd to the Constables as followeth :—

| | | | |
|--|-----|----|----------|
| Pd ffancis Isherwood and Raph Marsden for the yeare 1641 in taxes and leys by severall warrants | 019 | 07 | 11 |
| Pd Tho. Longworth and Alexander Stones for the yeare 1642 in taxes and leys by se ^u all warrants | 004 | 19 | 08 |
| Pd James Kirshaw churchwarden 23rd of Aprill 1642 towards the charitable contribution for Ire- land | 006 | 00 | 00 |
| Pd Tho. Kenion and James Sharrocke for the yeare 1643 in taxes and leys by se ^u all warrants | 008 | 19 | 00 |
| Pd John Meo and Rich. Cronshaw for the yeare 1644 in taxes and leys by se ^u all warrants | 004 | 04 | 00 |
| Pd Thurston Bradley and James Brendwood for the yeare 1645 in taxes and leys by severall war- rants | 008 | 02 | 06 |
| Pd William Kirshaw & Willm. Ramsden Constables for the p'sent yeare since Micalmas 1645 in taxes and leys by severall warrants | 3 | 6 | 3 |
| | | | <hr/> |
| | | | 54 19 04 |

An Accompt of armes for ffoote and horse soldiers in Turton and
for hireinge of them and their weeklie paie as followeth :—

| | | | |
|--|-----|----|----|
| Pd for musketts, pikes, coslets, headpeeeces, banda- liers, swords, belts, napsacks, souldiers coates, gunpowder match, bulletts, bullet moods, wormes, scowrers, a drum, and for renewing of Armes, all for foote souldiers | 039 | 04 | 08 |
|--|-----|----|----|

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|----|
| Pd for sixteene blacke bills for the publicke searvice | 001 | 00 | 00 |
| Pd to three foote souldiers under y ^e comānd of Captain Robt. Bradshawe & since under y ^e comānd of Lieutenant Colonel John Bradshaw, in hireing of them and in weekly paie to them and in p'vidinge of new souldiers when anie were lost in the searvice - - - - - | 036 | 13 | 04 |
| Pd to men when the [y] laie at Roachdale, Black- stoun Edge, Blacke gate, Bolton, and other places | 002 | 09 | 00 |
| One light horse and rider compleatly furnished, under the comānd of Captaine Markland, his paie, his losse in horses, keepinge of him, and they horses, and the losse of horse and armes by cap- tivity and other waies, and in renewinge of horses and armes when they have been lost in the service | 063 | 02 | 01 |
| | 142 | 09 | 01 |
| Pd in expenses in money, oates, and other p'vision for my draught of ffoure horses and twoe men, twoe severall times to Lancaster and spoiling of my carte and wheelles, and lameinge one mare, at both tymes, w th caryinge of great peeces, when the were out five weekes, or thereabout - - - | 007 | 05 | 08 |
| In free quarters at Turton to maiors and captaines by 2 or 3 at a time for divers times and to Troups sometimes 12 sometym 16 sometymes 20 sometimes more. And likewise in foot souldiers sometimes 60 or 70 a night and daily relieveinge of horse and foote especially at that tyme when Preston was regained from us to the emie, at w ^{ch} tyme for divers weekes my ser- vants were forced to brew and bake almost everie daie for reliefe of they afforesaid Souldiers that came to my howse of w ^{ch} it is impossible for me to give a p'fect accompt; but I thinke it will amount to above - - - - - | 080 | 00 | 00 |
| | 87 | 05 | 08 |

An accompt of taxes and leys in Harwood wthin the parish of Bolton p^d to y^e Constable of Harwood afforesaid as followeth :—

| | | | |
|--|-------|----|----|
| P ^d to Roger Crompton and James Crompton for the yeare 1642 in taxes and leyes by severall warrants - - - - - | 000 | 10 | 06 |
| P ^d to Rich. Haslome and John Sale for the yeare 1643 in taxes and leys by severall warrants - | 000 | 18 | 03 |
| P ^d to Adam Haslome and Ellis Bromiley for the yeare 1644 in taxes and leyes by severall warrants - - - - - | 001 | 06 | 00 |
| P ^d to Robert Haslome and Tho. Bridge for the yeare 1645 in taxes and leys by severall warrants | 002 | 06 | 04 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 005 | 01 | 01 |

An accompt of taxes and leyes for Cleyton w^{ch} were paid to the Constables of Droilsden wthin y^e p^rish of Manchest^r as followeth :—

| | | | |
|---|-------|----|----|
| P ^d to Tho. Baron and Nicholas Hill in the yeare 1641 in taxes and leys by severall warrants - | 000 | 02 | 03 |
| P ^d to John Bexwicke and John Liech for the yeare 1642 and for the yeare 1643 in taxes and leys by severall warrants - - - - - | 006 | 09 | 02 |
| P ^d to Tho. Gorton and George Travis for the yeare 1644 in taxes and leys by severall warrants - | 002 | 05 | 04 |
| P ^d to Rich. Heape and John Tayleor for the year 1645 in taxes and leyes by severall warrants - | 010 | 06 | 02 |
| P ^d John Grimshawe and William Buresell nowe in beinge for this yeare since Micalmas 1645 in taxes and leys by severall warrants - - - - - | 3 | 7 | 10 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 022 | 10 | 09 |

An Accompt of Armes for horse and foote souldiers at Cleyton and for hiringe of them and their weekly paie as followeth :—

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|----|
| Paid for musketts, head peeces, bandaliers, swords, belts, napsacks, souldiers coats, gunpowder match, bullets, bullet moulds, wormes, scowrers, and for renewing of Armes all for foot souldiers - | 030 | 10 | 00 |
|---|-----|----|----|

Pd to 4 foote souldiers, under comānd of Capt. Tho.

Chetham, in hireinge of them and in weekly pay
to them and in p'vidinge of new souldiers when
anie were lost in the service - - - -

034 15 03

One light horse and rider compleately furnished
under the comānd of Capt. Jo. Bexwicke and
since under the comānd of Capt. Edw. Mosley,
his paie, his losse in horses, keepinge of him and
the horses, and the losse of horses and armes by
captivitie and otherwise, and in renewinge of
horses and armes when they have been lost in
the searvice - - - - -

66 02 06

131 07 09

An Accompt of free quarters at Cleyton as followeth :—

In quarteringe of horses, belonginge to Sr Tho.

Fairfax Troups a litle before that tyme they went
to that searvice at Nantw^{ch} in hey and corne -

002 12 00

Two horses more of Sr Tho. Fairfax troupes kept for
a month with hay and corne - - - -

001 17 04

Five horses of Colonel Alred came from the
leaguer at Liverpool and were kept wth haie and
corne 3 wherof continued 31 daies, the other
two were kept with grease and corne for 10
weekes - - - - -

005 03 04

Quarteringe of Captaine Butterworth troupe con-
teyninge 87 horses for 12 daies and nights at 8d.

a horse daie and night for grease and corne -

034 16 00

More quartered of Captaine Butterworth troupe 20
horses for 5 daies and nights in grease and corne

003 06 08

2 horses more of Capt. Butterworth troupe w^{ch}
he left to be kept with grease and corne 6 weekes

002 16 00

20 horses of Capt. Buckley troupe quart^{ed} one day
and night and were kept with grease and corne

000 13 04

Four cives of oates delivered to Capt. Mosley
troupe at 12s. per cive^t - - - - -

002 08 00

^t Cive, an obsolete form of Sieve, a measure, about a bushel.

| | | | |
|--|-----|----|----|
| In spoileinge of 10 or 11 acres of haie grasse w th foure score horses divers daies and nights beinge put therein of the affores ^d troupes - - - | 007 | 12 | 00 |
| P ^d for reliefe of the souldiers w th in garison of Man- chester in four hoops of maile and a flich of Backon - - - - - | 001 | 10 | 04 |

062 15 0

Havinge lent Mr. Francis Mosley 760*l*. and require-
 inge the same of him againe, he directed me to
 take up halfe of the said sume, or thereabout of
 some of my neighbours and shopkeepers in Man-
 chester and to give my bill of exchange for the
 same to be paid to his partner at London Mr.
 Robert Lowe upon sight of the said bill, and the
 other halfe of my money to be paid likewise by
 exchange a month after that, in pursuance of
 which direction before I could effect it the said
 Mr. Mosley was proved a delinquent and the said
 money intended for me wth the rest that he had in
 cash, his cloath, his debts and debt books, and
 all other his bookes by order of Parliament were
 sequestred and seized for the publicke use, for
 as hereby doth appear their went to the Parlia-
 ment use of my money^r - - - - - 760 00 00

An accompt of taxes and leys of that p^{te} of Oardshall demesne
 belonginge to me wthin the parish of Manchester and p^d to the
 Constables of Salford as followeth :—

| | | | |
|--|-----|----|----|
| Paid to George Scholes and Sam. Smethurst for the yeare 1644 in taxes and leys by severall warrants - | 006 | 09 | 07 |
| Pd to Philip Stampe and Willm Snarie for the yeare 1645 in taxes and leys by severall warrants - | 022 | 12 | 00 |

029 01 07

^r This is omitted from Account dated March 14, 1645.

An accompt of taxes and leys of that pte of Oardshall demesne belonging to me wthin the parish of Eccles pd to they Constables of Pendleburie as followeth :—

| | | | |
|---|-------|----|----|
| Pd to Jo. Peake for the yeare 1644 in taxes and leys for severall warrants - - - - - | 001 | 13 | 08 |
| Pd to Ralph Seddon for the yeare 1645 in taxes and leys by several warrants - - - - - | 005 | 18 | 04 |
| Pd to Tho. Gooden since Michailmas 1645 in taxes and leys by several warrants - - - - - | 001 | 17 | 07 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 009 | 09 | 07 |

For that parte of Oardshall demesne belonging to me w^{ch} is wthin the parish of Manchester and wthin the parish of Eccles and was kept from me in one whole yeare by the Deputie Leifteñts and went to the publicke use - - - - -

[The following added in account dated March 14.]

Another accompt of rents formerly due from me Humfrey Chetham of Turton and likewise constantly paid unto Mrs. Alice Orrell untill they were sequestred but since they were sequestred paid to they Sequestrators for the use of the publicke as followeth :—

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|----|
| Paid to Robert Dunster and Thomas Marsden the 16th of October 1643 one whole yeares rent - | 054 | 03 | 04 |
| Paid more to Robert Dunster and Thomas Marsden the 26th of April, 1644 one halfe yeares rent due to Mrs. Alice Orrell the 25th of March last past - - - - - | 027 | 01 | 08 |
| Paid more to Thomas Marsden the 25th of November 1644 one halfe yeare rent due to the said Mrs. Alice Orrell the 29th of September last past | 027 | 01 | 08 |
| Pd more to Thomas Marsden the 28th of April 1645 two partes of Mrs. Alice Orrell halfe yeares rent due 25th of March last past - - - - - | 018 | 01 | 01 |
| Paid more to Thomas Marsden the 21th of October 1645 two partes of Mrs. Alice Orrell half yeares rent due the 29th of September 1645 - - - - - | 018 | 01 | 01 |

Pd to Robert Dunster and Thomas Marsden the 22
of December 1643 sixteene poundes sixe shillings
and eight pence w^{ch} they claymed as a debt in
the right of Mr. Anderton of Lostocke due for
p'scrip^{cion} of tithes and were sent to require it at
my handes by the appointment of Mr. Bradshaw
then Deputie Lieftenant w^{ch} debt is not due and
therefore I denied to paie them, but upon con-
di^{cion} that I might have my money againe, unlesse
they could make the debt hereafter to appeare
due. Since w^{ch} time the money was never repaid
nor yet proved to be a debt and therefore yet
owinge - - - - - 016 16 08

161 15 06

An Accompt of rents formerlie due to Mr. Anderton of Lostocke
for chiefe rent and tithe corne of that parte of Oardshall demesne
w^{thin} the parishe of Eccles and since sequestred, paid for the
use of they publicke as followeth :—

Paid to Robert Ouldhan (appointed Collector for
the rents afforesaid) the 4th daie of November
Anno dni 1644 for one whole yeares rent and
ended at Michaelmas last - - - - - 003 06 08

Paid more to the afforesaid Robert Ouldham the
eight daie of October 1645 for one whole yeares
rent &c. - - - - - 003 00 08

7 13 4

[Total... £2074 8 8]

In January, 1647–8, Mr. Chetham received the following order
from the Committee for the Monthly Assessment to resume his
duties as County Treasurer. It was doubtless an unwelcome
communication, though it testified the confidence of the authori-
ties in the integrity of his character, and their estimation of the
value of his former services :¹

¹ Chetham MSS., vol. i. p. 41.

Preston in Com.

Lanc.

Att a generall meetinge of the Com^{te} for y^e monthly Assessm^t 19^o Jan. 1647, Itt is ordered that Humfrey Chetham Esq. shalbee Receiver Generall of y^e nyne moneths Assessments imposed upon this Countie by an ordinance of y^e 23th of June last for the rayseinge of moneys towards the maintenance of y^e fforces under y^e comānd of Sr Tho. ffairfax and for the speedie transportinge of and paieinge the forces for carryinge on y^e warre of Ireland. And that the Collectors in the severall Hundreds hereafter p^ticularly named do take speciall care y^t sixe monethes Assessm^t of the said nyne monethes be forthwth collected and paid unto y^e said Mr. Chetham in maⁿer followeing: vizt. That Mr. Tho. Archer Collector wthin y^e Hundred of Amoundernes do forthwth collect and levye wthin y^e s^d hundred y^e sūme of ffive hundred twenty foure pounds foureteene shillinges. And y^t Mr. Hugh Coop collector for Darbie hundred do forth with collect and levie wth in that hundred the sūme of eight hundred twentie sixe pounds sixteene shillinges. And that Mr. Tho. Lowe Collector for Leyland hundred do collect and levye wthin y^e said hundred the sūme of twoe hundred ffifty foure poundes eight shillings. And that Mr. Willm. Rawlinson and Mr. James Thorneton Collectors for Loynsdaile Hundred do collect and levie wthin that Hundred the sume of ffive hundred twentie foure poundes foureteene shillinges. And that Mr. Richard Lomax of Manchester and Mr. Robert Leaver of Darcye Leaver Collectors for Salford Hundred do collect and levye wthin that hundred the sūme of ffive hundred twentie four poundes foureteene shillinges or soe much of the said severall sūmes in the respective hundreds afforesaid as is arrears and unpaid beinge for sixe monthes alreadie past. And y^t Miles Whittaker do collect and levie wthin y^e hundred of Blackbourne so much of the twoe first monthes assessm^t whereof his ffather Tho. Whittaker deceased was appointed collector as is arrere and unpaid. And y^t Mr. Tho. Duckworth and Tho. Whally Collectors for y^e other ffoure monthes Assessm^t in Blackborne hundred beinge in all for y^e whole sixe monthes y^e sūme of ffive hundred twentie foure poundes foureteene shillinges do forthwth collect and levie y^e same wthin y^e said hundred. And it is

further ordered y^t the Collectors afforesaid do take special care wthin their respective divisions that the severall sumes afforesaid be immediately collected and levied as afforesaid and paid unto y^e said Mr. Chetham Receiver Generall at or before Monday the four and twentieth of this instant January who is to paie the same over to y^e Trēs at Warre according to an Ordinance of the 24th of December last. And in case anie neglect or default shalbee found in the due execution hereoff either in the said Receiver Generall or in any of the s^d Collectors or Officers w^{ch} shalbee in any wise employed herein They shalbee p^{ce}eeded against by fyne imprisonment or otherwise as by the severall Ordinances in that behalfe made is limited and appointment. And the High Constables and Pettie Constables wthin the respective hundreds afforesaid are required from tyme to tyme to be aydinge and assistinge to the said Collectors for the more speedie collectinge and levyinge y^e severall sumes afforesaid as they shall answer the contrary at their pills.

To Humfrey Chetham Esq^{re}
Receiver Generall of the
Monthly Assessm^t in y^e
Countie of Lancaster.

Richard Holland.
Peter Egerton.
J. Bradshawe.
John Starkie.
John Halsted.
Robt. Cunliffe.
Willm. Shawe.

The following letters show the difficulties experienced by Chetham in collecting the required sums of money, and the straits in which Colonel Duckenfield and other military leaders found themselves through the want of that money.¹

- (1) S^r I desire you will be pleased to dispatch the bearer hereof, as the orders herewith sent you will direct; you will hereby doe my Regiment and myselfe a great favour in preventing me of further paines & trouble to you & otherwise about this busines, in

¹ The letters are printed in Whatton's *History of Chetham's Hospital*, pp. 290-4, from the *Chetham MSS.*, vol. i. pp. 156, 158; vol. ii. pp. 63, 80, 84, 87, 89, 90, 91. A few corrections have been made after comparison with the original letters.

sending any more for this money ; I hope you will rightly conceive
hereof, Soe I shall remaine

Y^r obliged & ready freind

Duckenfeild 17 Aprill 1648

ROBTE DUCKENFEILD.

For his esteemed ffriend

Humphrey Cheetom of Turton Esq. these.

(2) S^r

The orders of the Co^mittee for the Army sent by this bearer,
beinge of greate concernment to the satisfaction of the soulderie
in the Garrison of Liverpoole, who are at present, as we are fully
informed, three moneths pay and a halfe in arreare, and not having
as yet allowed any free quarters from the Towne or Countrey, the
which necessity of theires wee cannot but desire earnestlie may bee
something redrest by the observance of those orders. S^r the present
emergencie, together with the good of the Garrison and County
being much herein concerned, wee could doe noe lesse but acquaint
you herewith, that through your care some speedy course may be
taken for satisfaction of the Orders from above, wherein you may
do an acceptable service to the publicke ; S^r wee are

Y^r loveing freinds

July 25th 1648.

G. Ireland, Vic.

T. Stanley.

S^r wee expect a speedy answer in writinge
by this bearer that wee may certify about
either your neglect or observance of
these orders.

Peter Egerton.

John Holcrofte.

Ra. Worthington.

Peter Brooke.

For M^r Cheatam Generall Receiver of ye
monthly Assessments for ye Army. These

(3) S^r The order I formerly sent you for 200^{li} out of your assess-
ments for the Army I returned to London, because the County
were unwilling to discharge it, but the last weeke the Co^mittee of
Parliament for the Army did send the foresaid Order to mee back
again, requireinge mee to collect it from you or to distraine for it.
I desire therefore you will soe consider thereof as to cause the said
order for 200^{li} to be presently discharged, & I will send for the

money when you please, relying upon your favour herein, I
remaine

Y^r ready ffriend

Duckenfeild 10th October 1648.

Robte Duckenfeild.

if the s^d money be not ready with all speede, I must
send my troops to quarter in your County.

To his honored ffriend

Humphrey Cheetham Esq. att Turton theise.

- (4) S^r I am againe directed from the Co^mittee of Parliament for
the Army to demand the two hundred pounds, for which I have
twise shewed you orders for, from you & your Co^mittee & I doe
assure you I will eare long send one hundred horse to quarter in
your County till it be paid to me as abovesaid, necessity compells
me hereto, because the garrison of Liverpoole and Lancaster are in
extreme want of moneys & I will not suffer them to starve whilst
I have charge of them, soe rest

Y^r ready ffreind

Chester 16th November
1648.

Robte Duckenfeild.

ffor M^r Humphrey Cheetom Treasurer & Colector
for the Monethly Assessments for Lancashire at
Cheatom thes delivd.

- (5) Gentlemen

Hitherto I (in particular) have endeavored by my letters to
satisfy Colln^l Duckenfeilds importunity for 200^{li}, and to alter his
purpose from the inconvenience threatened by his inclosed letter,
which because (though directed solely to mee) it seems to concerne
both you and the whole County, I thought fitt to impart it unto
you, with a copy of my accompt, whereby you may perceive that
the Co^mittee of the Army have ordered to bee paid out of the
assessments of our County, above two hundred pounds more then
the whole assesments would amount to, if all the money should
come in ; And I pray please to bee acquainted further, that the
money which is yet behind the Collectors detainee a greate parte of

it for their sallary, according to the ordinance ; and the rest (if it ever come in) will not discharge an order of 750^{li} to bee paid to Mr Norres, for the Souldiers of our County, whereof I have paid parte, and the rest (when I receive it) shall not stay in my hands ; upon consideration hereof I doubt not but you will take some course, either by your certificate to the Co^mittee of the Army, or otherwise as you shall think fitt, that Colln^l Duckenfeilds order may be countermanded, or himselfe convinced that it ought not to be charged here, for it will but bee in vaine for me to repeate to him againe what I have said already, being in substance the same which is now sent to you from

Gent

Clayton Novemb.

Yr most ready friend to serve you

20th 1648.

Humfrey Chetham.

Gentlemen, I conceive it very necessary for the Co^missioners of the monthly assessm^{ts} forthwith to meete, in answe^r to some letters lately rec^d from y^e Committee of the Armye, & for that purpose if you please to thinke fit of Tuesday next the 28th instant at Manchester, by tenn of the clocke, I shall not fayle to wayte upon you

Richard Holland.

| | li | s | d | |
|---|------|----|---|--|
| (6) The totall of the nine monthes assess- ments on the County of Lancaster is | 4770 | 00 | 0 | |
| Whereof paid to Generall Lambert by order of y ^e Comittee of the Army | 2000 | 00 | 0 | |
| To William Strangwaies for the Gar- rison at Liverpoole by the like order | 0286 | 00 | 0 | Rec ^d from the Collectors of the severall Hundreds, in parte of the Sume of 4770 ^{li} oppo- site..... |
| For Generall Mitton's souldiers by the like order | 0800 | 00 | 0 | |
| For y ^e Garrison at Lancaster by the like order | 0310 | 00 | 0 | |
| To Lieutn ^t Seddon more for the Gar- rison at Liverpoole by the like order | 0220 | 00 | 0 | |
| For Coln ^l Duckenfeild's Souldiers by the like order | 0340 | 00 | 0 | |
| To Mr. Alexander Norres in parte of his order of 750 ^{li} | 0474 | 12 | 2 | } 4449 2 11 |
| For the High Collectors allowance at 1 ^d in the pound according to the ordinance | 0018 | 10 | 9 | |

| | | | |
|---|--------------------|---|----------|
| Remaines unpaid 320 ^{li} 17 ^s 1 ^d , where- of the Collector and sub-collectors are to keepe for their Salary 60 ^{li} 19 ^s 2 ^d And the overplus when it comes in being 259 ^{li} 17 ^s 11 ^d is to bee paid in further parte of M ^r Norres order of 750 ^{li} , but will fall short of discharging it by 15 ^{li} 09 ^s 11 ^d | 0320 17 1 | Remaines un- collected or elseinth Col- lect ^{rs} hands not paid into the High Col- lect ^r or Re- ceiver Gen- erall | 320 17 1 |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| | Totall...4770 00 0 | | 4770 0 0 |

Memorand. besides the 15 09 11 aforesaid charged upon the County more then y^e assessments will amount to, there is another order for 200^{li} in Colln^{li} Duckenfeild's hands, which hee requires to bee paid out of these assessments also.

I have exam^d the Receipts & disbursements and found the charge upon the County to bee 4770^{li}, and the Accompts above written doe amounte to the like some of 4770^{li}, as is above expressed.

E. Wall.

To the right wor^{ll} the Co^mission^{rs} for rayseing
the monthly assessm^{ts} in the County of
Lanc. or any of them—psent these.

(7) Right Ho^{ble}

May it please your honnors to bee certified that wee whose names are subscribed, Commissioners for the monthly assessments in the County of Lancaster, upon sight of an order of seaven hundred and fiftie pounds ordered by your honnors to bee paid to Mr. Alex^r Norres for certaine uses therein expressed, And alsoe upon sight of severall Acquittances of the Treas^r att warre, and of a letter from Coll. Rob. Duckenfeild produced unto us by Humfrey Chetham Esq^{re} (Receiver Generall of our said County for the first nyne monthes onely) att our generall meetinge here this day, Wee doe fynde that the said Receiver is ordered by your honnors to pay to the said Coll. Duckenfeild twoe hundred pounds out of the said assessments. Whereas all the Remainder of the said nyne moneths is not sufficient to discharge the order of 750^{li} before men^coned, the allowance or sallarie for the High Collectors and the Sub-Collectors being deducted according to the Ordinance, which att the request of the Said M^r Chetham wee make bold to certife, and humbly desire that the order by your honnors granted to Coll.

Duckenfeild may be superseded or else charged upon some other County. And wee shall remayne

Your honnors humble Servants

Richard Hollande.

Bolton 24^o Novembr
1648.

John Starkie.

J. Bradshawe.

Tho. Birche.

My Lords

The 750^{li} mentioned in this letter was ordered by you in part of the 2 months paye. for disbanding the Lancashyre forces. I have seene M^r Cheethams accounts & I doe assure your Ldshipp hee hath not wherewith to pay the 750^{li} wherefore I beseeche you to satisfy Col. Duckenfeild out of the assessment of some other County.

I am, my Lds yr most hum^{ble} Serv^t

Raphe Assheton.

To the right ho^{ble} the Co^mittee of Lords
& Commons for the Army under the
co^mand of his Exc^{ie} Thomas Lord
ffairfax at Westminster—present these.

- (8) Sir Yf you have accompted for the first 9 monthes Assessments in your County, yet there is 8 monthes assessments more due, wherein you or y^r co^mittee might easily discharge y^e order for 200^{li} that I writt to you of formerly, I used all means that well laye in mee with y^e Co^mittee for y^e army that the said sume might be remitted to you, & required out of some other County, but they would not assent thei^rto, & I will not loose it; therefore if you please within eight dayes to procure mee the said 200^{li}, or give mee a satisfactory answer why its detain^d, I shall accompt it as a favour from you, otherwise I will send ffoure troopes of Horse into your County, that I can very well spare, soe reste

Yr ready ffreind

Chester 29th Nov. 1648.

Robte Duckenfeild.

ffor his much respected M^r Humfrey Chetham
of Clayton these.

The originall lre was given to Colon^l Holland
& a Coppie thereof to Colon^l Birche.

(9) Much honored Sir

Yt is verie true that I was appoynted Rec^r Generall for 9 months assessment for our Countie, and noe more, of which I have given a satisfactorie accompt, but as touching the 8 months assessm^t whereof your letter now informs mee, I did not soe much as even heare of it before, and whether our Committee have assessed it, & appoynted a Treasurer to receive it I know nothing thereof, butt that all ffriendlie correspondence may bee continued beetwixt the 2 Counties, I have sent your letter to craive Generall Ashton and Colonell Holland to bee communicators to the rest of the Committee, that they may advise & take care how to answer your demands. And soe untill farther occasione I rest,

Yours to serve you,

December 4th, 1648.

Humfrey Chetham.

CHAPTER XIII.

HUMPHREY CHETHAM was now in his sixty-ninth year, and had fairly earned repose from his incessant public duties. No doubt he thought that his long-continued labours entitled him to some consideration; but the authorities wanted a new sheriff, and finding some difficulty in obtaining a suitable man, fell back upon him who had served the office so well fifteen years before, and who had faithfully executed the duties of County Treasurer that had been imposed upon him so often.

On Monday, 27th November, 1648, the following resolution was passed:—

The Lords and Comōns assembled in parliamt^t doe nominate and approve of Humphrey Cheetom Esquire to bee Sheriffe of the Countie of Lancaster. And that the Comissioners for the Great Seale of England doe issue out a Comission to him to bee Sheriffe of the said County accordingly.

Among some papers which were recovered from the sale of Mr. James Crossley's library, and are now preserved in the Chetham Library, is a series of interesting letters referring to this appointment and to his efforts, happily successful, to get it annulled. The first of these letters is addressed by John Rogerson, Humphrey's agent in London, to Mr. Croston, and dated November 28, 1648:—

(1) Mr. Croston,

Commende, &c. I must in the first place acquainte yo^u that yo^r maister (and my god father) is ònce more made high sherreiffe of Lancashire, howe it came to passe wee cannot heere imagine, but

the truth is hee was chosen uppon Thursday last by the house of Comons and uppon Fryday by the house of Peeres confirmed, and Mr. Langton tould mee last night (beinge a member of the house) that unlesse hee sue forth his Patent very speedily hee will incurre the danger of a fine, theerefore it were not amisse to send by the returne of this post to have it sued forth, wheerein I shall doe my best endeavour if yo^r Mr. thinke mee worthy of the ymployment, and to that end I intend not to sett forth hence before this day seavenight. I wonder much neither can I as yet heare howe this came about, but soe it is, and some members whoe wished him not very well have putt it uppon him—for heere is never a Lancashire man in Towne that ever had soe much as a thought of him to bee sherreiffe. I shall forbear to write to yo^r Mr. because I knowe it must neede trouble him very much, onely present my service to him and acquainte him that I am

his faithfull Godsonne

Jo. Rogerson.

Some reporte heere the treatie is broaken of, others that the Kinge and Com^{ee} are agreed, but the matter being dubious I can write nothinge of certainty, however the Armye are expected heere dayly six Regiments (as tis said) intend to come into the Citty on Thursday next.

All the greate houses heere about London are made Garrisons by the Armye as Hampton Courte, Sion house and many others.

On the 3 December, 1648, Mr. Richard Worseley wrote the following compassionate letter to Chetham. It is dated "Worseley the present Sondaie eveninge":

- (2) I understand of the unwelcome office that is offred to be put upon you in theise disastrous tymes w^{ch} I am sorry for you wth all my heart, in regard I knowe well such a troblesome busines is very unsutable to yo^r disposi^{cion} both in regard of yo^r age and disabilitie to travell, yf you cannot prevaile to be excused of it, but that of force you must undergoe the burden & troble thereof, I sholde be glad to doe you the best service I can in the excuson of the place under you, and to give you securitie to yo^r owne content for yo^r indempnitie, and give you such further content as yo^u y^rself shall

thinke fitt, my desire is you maie have such a one as will be carefull as well to free you from troble as to looke after profit to himself. I praie yo^u reserve yo^r self from makinge any promise to any one till I see you.

Also this further letter, dated 15 December, 1648, which deals in the first place with some private business :

- (3) Good Sr. I was in good hope to have seene you in Manchester upon the last Saturdaie, but it seemes you were scarce well and the cold frostie weather discouraged you to ryde. I mett wth yo^r kinsman & servant there, to whome I paid soe much money as he tolde me you were pleased to accept of, wherein I acknowledge myself very much beholdinge to you for yo^r greate kindness in deallinge soe favourablie wth me, and if it ever lye in my power to steede you in any thinge yo^u shall fynde me truly thankfull. I was desirous to have seene & spoken wth you about thother busines w^{ch} I write to you of in my former letter, and intended to have come over to you in the begyninge of this weeke, but upon further consideration I thought it better to forbear untill I might understand further from you, yo^r man tolde me onlie this, that you sent me worde that you colde not give me answere to what I write to you before the later ende of this weeke ; soe as I doe suppose you will have certaine newes by this post whether you can be freed from this troble at this tyme or not. And in case you cannot procure yo^r self to be spared then there will bee some thinges that require some hast to be considered of, w^{ch} I thought fitt to put you in mynde of, and doe desire to heare a word or twoe from you in wrytinge by this bearer whether you intende to be in Manchester to morowe, where I shall be glad to see you or whether you will be pleased I waite on you at yo^r owne house or any other place and when and however the busines fall out I shall thinke my labo^r well bestowed to see you. I will not nowe troble you further but will wth the remembrance of my service and true love to you take leave and rest

Yo^r servant & pore welwishinge frende

Richard Worseley.

The next letter is from Mr. Rogerson.

(4) Sr.

My humble service p'sented &c. I have accordinge to your instrucōns by the last post but one, attended both Mr. Langton, Judge Bradshawe and Mr. Johnson and an accompt thereof I sent yo^u by the returne of that post, and had intended to have stayed longer for the furtheringe thereof, but uppon Wednesday last (all those our Lancashire Parliament men whoe would have been very readie to have served yo^u therein) with many others to the number of seaventy more, were by the Armye taken prisoner^s and expelled the house, soe that the Citty is nowe in a very sadd distracōn, and everye man enforced to flye thence for his owne safety, I forbear to menōn the sadd p'ticular relaōn thereof because I knowe you^l heare it at large by this or next post. I am come this night thus farre on my journey and must stave with my wife 3 or 4 dayes at Lichfeild, onely make bould to give yo^u this hint of the busines, and remayne

Yo^r humble servant

Coventrye December
the iith 1648.

Jo : Rogerson.

The Armye hath likewise taken the great seale of England, made a garrison of Paules Church and broaken upon the Treasure halls in the Citty and taken forth thence 350000^{li}, with many more outrages.

Then comes a batch of letters bespeaking Humphrey Chetham's favours in connection with certain appointments in the gift of the Sheriff. John Bradshaw of Bradshaw recommends John Norris of Bolton for bailiff and Captain Wm. Westithe for County Clerk. Nicholas Cunliffe of Wycoller commends Edward Walls for Clerk. For the same position Captain William Overs is mentioned by Raphe Assheton of Middleton, who also wrote as follows on 7 December, on behalf of John Pigot and Evan Wall of Preston :

(5) Sr It seemes y^t y^e letters on y^r behalfe, to have prevented y^r being Sherryffe, have not taken place, for I am tould y^u are voted in y^e house of Comons & by them transmitted to y^e L^{ds} so y^t I

Y

doubt now there is no redemption for y^u, it will therefore bee for y^r ease and good to have honnest & able officers under y^u. Wherefore I make it my request to y^u y^t y^u will employe Mr. Pigott and Evan Wall (very able & honnest if my affection to them blind me not) in y^e exigenturs place, and they will give y^u any content for securitie or other wayes as y^u shall desyre & I shall take it kindly from y^u if you will doe it because they are recommended to y^u by

Y^r very loving freind

Raphe Assheton.

S^r If you bee not pyvyded I doe not know how y^u can fitt y^r selfe wth a better man to bee y^r undersherryfe than Mr. Pigott. I p^fesse I speake to you as a freind.

“My Cosen Pigot of Preston” is also recommended by John Lightbowne. Mr. John Norris finds another friend in the writer of the following letter :—

(6) Honrd S^r

My duetie together with my wives to you presented. The occasion of my present addresse to you in these lines is this : Mr. John Norris of Bolton junio^r hearinge you are to be high-Sheriffe of the Countie hath by his letter desired mee to request you on his behalfe that he might be accepted of by you to be his Baylife-Errant, pardon mee if I miscall the tearme for I but guesse at it, being it is noe tearme of Art in my profession neither as philosopher nor divine : I know not how your respect or ingagement may lye to others in this kinde, if you shall be necessitate to thatt rouble-some hono^rble imployment, which yet I would hope may be evaded, Gods providence and mans Candor and ingenuytie indulginge you: But my humble request to you shall be that you would please to entertaine him into your thoughts, and into that service, if you stand Sheriffe, and it may stand with conveniencie and your prudence : S^r I know your genius so far as that you are not to be courted with mony or faire wordes without just reason, or either beside or yet contrary to your owne reason and rationall determinations : which since I account amongst your other worthy Accomplishments and indowments I should bewray too much

weakenesse to goe that way to worke : I know to have hinted a thing to you is sufficient for an Entrance or Refusall, therefore it is I say noe more, but tender it to your Consideration and Acceptance if it may be, And soe havinge reco^mend[ed] it as my sincere request, signifye my poore opinion of his competencie and aptitude for such a purpose, leavinge that as the thing itsel^fe submitted to your grave and wise consideration, Onely promisinge my thankfulnessse (as obliged) if, the rather at my request you shall hereto condiseⁿde, I humbly take my leave and Rest

Yo^r unworthy yet acknowledged

kinseman

Deane Church,

Jo. Tilsley.

Decemb. 8, 1648.

The following from Thomas Rippon of Lancaster Castle, addressed to Thomas Birch on 7 December, 1648, refers to some difficulties between the garrison and the gaolers at the Castle :

- (7) Not doubting but yo^u have heard of the severall differences that hath areason the last yeare betwixt the Garrison and the galo^{rs} (for the avoyding any suite for the futter) I shall intreat yo^u would be pleased to acquaint him [H. Chetham] in two lynes that those who hath the Comand of the Castle is pleased to allow unto the Sheriffe the same allowance for the gaole as hath beene formerly given and put in good securitie to have the Sheriffe harmlesse w^{ch} if hee please to grant it will be a meanes to have the priso^{rs} better guarded.

The following letters present in sufficient detail the course of the negotiations carried on in London by Chetham's friends, and afford interesting sidelights on passing events in that momentous period of national history.

- (1) Worthy S^r

In observance of y^r direc^con by yo^r Lett^r I repaired to Mr. Langton, who conceived that there was noe probabilitie for y^u to escape the office, &c. If hee had had never soe good an opportunitie of w^{ch} hee hath beene p^vented, being interdicted by the Army from the house for the present. Hereuppon I p^{ro}ceeded to effect th'other pte of yo^r Lett^r and therein have spent all my time since the receipt of yo^{rs}, meeting wth the obstruc^cons expressed in the

Ordinance inclosed, w^{ch} I could not pcure to bee removed by any moneyes or by any meanes, spending principally my time in passing and repassing betwixt the two clarkes of both the houses of p^{liam}^t and who at last resolved that both the houses must bee moved herein and a new Ordinance made that the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lanc^r doe, &c. Now in regard that till there bee a new Ordinance I conceive y^u not fineable. Y^u may therefore consider whether y^u can make any meanes to free yo^r selfe uppon any good reasons by a mo^{con} to one or both houses, the w^{ch} if it taketh not then at the same time may it bee moved for a new ordinance. Herein I should referr y^u to better Judgm^t. And if y^u please to write to any of the p^{liam}^t they shalbee sollicitated for that purpose and any other direc^{cons} shalbee observed by him who will indeav^{or} that nothing may bee neglected w^{ch} can bee p^{vented} By yo^r ready servituor

Jo. Bretland

xii^o x^{bris} 1648.

(2) Much honoured S^r

I thank you for all your love, and for that you have bene pleased to take my former answer to your letter so patiently: the truth is S^r I durst not resigne it, as the world goes if I would, for y^e reason in my letter specified, for your owne busynesse S^r I perceive you have a sollicitous and carefull man of Mr. Rogerson, hee is industrious, but hath very stronge discouragements for Judge Bradshaw holds it impossible to be reversed, for that it hath passed both houses, and is by ordinaunce, upon the receipt of your letter did goe unto Mr. Holcroft who is your true freind and deserves a letter of thanks from you, and although he distrusts the busynesse somewhat yet hee promised me faythfully to move some of the Lords and Commons about it whether it be fecible or not that you for debility may be dispenced with all, and you must be pleased by the next to give me or him or both power to make a petition on your behalfe unto the Lords and Commons in your name; I went to Mr. Maynard a Parliament man of y^e Midle Temple, who tells me he hopes if you have not interested enemyes to move agaynst you, I meane who are affrayd of the place themselves, we may gett you off, and if they be heere in ye Towne you must conceive that they will

doe the best that they can to save themselves and use all freindes and might, and I think I have seene some of them and they have greate parliament men their freindes and it may hap their kinsfolk. Sr we will doe what we can, be of Good cheere, I think you may with conscience, beinge so ould and weake and broken with cares, pleade want of abilitie in memory and quick understandinge, shewe us in breefe words, what you can truly say for your selfe, and think uppon some rich man, and greate man, that is likely for the place, you shall not be discovered by mee. Sr I sayd to Mr. Maynard, ye greate lawyer of England, that in regard God had left you somewhat sick, and in regard of the trouble of ye Tymes, I was affrayd they made ye place a snare for you (but yet I hope God will deliver you if a new matter arise, more Tyme then one yeare is required for ye issue).

Sr what think you of this? if it will not be reversed, if you make a petition to ye Parliament that they would be pleased to choose for you, two under sheriffes, whome they thought fitt, for ye burden of the work. Sr if troubles fall out this is the way to save ye whole, I meane your estate. Sr I thank you for puttinge me in mynde of that letter w^{ch} was sent me before I received your last, I did not receive it, but in regard that it did so much concerne my particular, and his that sent it to me, I did not for ye tyme dare to write an answer, for some letters use to be opened, I think you understand mee. I pray God to bless you. Mr. Langton will be fully urged by Mr. Holcroft, I think he is [query] and hath done me some injury, and I am unfit to speake to him.

Your faythfull servant

London

Richard Johnson.

Temple

Dec. 5, 1648.

Sr if there is a necessitie of the place, sue out you[r] patent betyme, for they that are in yr place will doe you wrong.

(3) Much honoured Sr

I have received your letters, the one under your owne hand the other under your Clerks subscribed with your owne hand, the letter that was to Mr. Langton I think was yours, and it was delivered to

him. I received also the Coppyes of your Certificates, and Coronell Holcrofts letter, and I am sorry that such an office should be putt uppon you in your ould age, troubled with so greate infirmities. Sr your letters I did expect all day on Munday and could heare of none, uppon Tuesday, in y^e after noone they weare delivered to a friend of myne, and Mr. Langhtons letter beinge by it selfe hee carryed that unto him, and the truth is I know not by what mistake I had not your letters until Tuesday night, notwithstanding I did presently in the night goe to Coronell Holcroft, and w^{ch} was Gods favour founde them, a thing more then likly, for hee amonge many others, as the newes bookes will tell you, is restrayned from the house. I cannot send you the bookes for it is now far in the night, I believe you may have them at Manchester. Sr your Busynesse of the Shrivealty is by ordinance of y^e Lords and Commons (I understand to reverse this thinge, both are agayne required). Since the Army is come to London, for I think uppon the matter that the whole Army is heere, I am informed that the Lords will vote nothinge, holdeinge that it is not a free parliament, in regard all, unlesse it beffower [?] are excepted agaynst, or els will not vote, and doe absent themselves, yet, Sr, lett this passe only for a report, you may heare more certaynty by the bookes. So as yet there is no help by them : Sr untill this day the remaynder of the Commons that weare not taken and permitted by the souldiers to goe thither did refuse to vote, holdeinge they weare not free (as I am informed), but receive this or what is true by a more authentick testimony of the bookes or other wise if you can, this day they have voted the former votes off addresses to the Kinge to be voyd, and will have no more addresses, and other matters w^{ch} I dare not relate for feare of sayinge wronge, So that we have not the men heere but they are some in hold, some fled out of the Towne, and others hideinge themselves in the Towne, whome we had hopes to have used, only I thinke Mr. Langhton is not under restraynt, but I doe not knowe the truth. Sr Gilbert Gerard, who hath the Seale of y^e Dutchy, is prisoner and the Seale demaunded of him and you weare to have your patent from him, and you cannot (as far as I can conceive) sue out your patent, but must lett it alone, yet Sr I am thinkeinge if you would venter so much charges and paynes (for it

is a thing ventred) as to send up your servaunt Croston, to sollicite and be at that Charges, you might now better come off then ever, for in regard that the former Sheriff hath had but one assizes, it will be reasonable that he should stay in untill a fitt man may be chosen, and in regard that you know not who hath y^e custody of that seale it will I hope be construed no contempt if you doe not sue out your patent suddenly, or if it should be counted a fault, a small amersment of an hundred marks or thereabout might be put uppon you, especially if you have discrete men heere to acquaynt those who are now the parliament with your case whylest the seale is not disposed of. S^r I write in a busynesse wherein I am blind and therefore pardon myne ignorance who accordinge to my best abilitie am

Your humble servant,

Richard Johnson.

London,

Temple,

December y^e 12,

1648.

The Lord have mercy on us. I am bound to certifie such a one as your selfe who hath ventred so much for y^e Parliament all that I can, but in dark matters you must suspend till you here more. Wee heare of a subscription agaynst monarchy w^{ch} who soever will not yeild unto must be sequestred, and then whether provision for y^e shrevealty will not be in an other way I know not, methinks it can not be amisse to signifie your case and shewe your duty fulnesse to y^e Parliament by some messenger. I pray God to direct you.

(4) Much honoured S^r

I have received your letter by Mr. Bretland's sonne. I wayted all day on Munday for it and it came not, and uppon Tuesday I went fowre miles out of y^e Town, w^{ch} is more then I have done since I came to London, not thinkeinge you had written ; but as matters stand it is all one, ffor all men are at there wits end and doe not knowe what to doe, ffor of the Lords there are very fewe fit, I understand about three, and whether it be safe to make addresse to them or not, I cannot tell, how may heerafter be construed if they should reverse uppon information what the others did in a more

full house, for the house of Commons the principall freindes w^{ch} I used are nowe restrayned from y^e house. Mr. Holcroft I am informed either is or will be in Lancashire be that tyme this will be with you. Mr. Langhton I understand also is comminge downe, besides hee is full of despayre of helpeinge us. Mr. Ashurst is agayne accepted into y^e house, but hee will keepe another from y^e office and therefore keepe you on still, and for Coronell Rigbie, hee alwayes uppon occasion moves agaynst mee, and I beleive hee is no freinde of yours. I feare him not, and I hope he cannot hurt you, many of the cheife and ablest of myne acquayntance which are not of y^e count have leave also to goe a fowleinge this winter. I will the next weeke send word what can be done. I wish you had sound counsell whether they cannot fine you, and if they cannot I propose it unto you whether if you lett all to sleep a tyme, be not safe, then to move for a patent from them, whom another change may make disputable whether they give it or not, or for the reversion of the former Ordinance when so many have protested these actions to be all null and voyd. Where I come nowe mens mouthes are sowed up and a poore lawyer scarce willinge to plead for his fee. I will apply my selfe to y^e yonge man heere, Mr. Bretlands sonne, for his father is nowe out of y^e Towne. We doe not yet know how to move the Lords and we knowe not whether it bee safe either to take or give or doe any thinge els as things stand, and for y^e Commons small hopes, but yet be not discouraged for I hope God will not leave you but gard all for good. Within a few dayes it will be decided whether there will be any greate use of your office or not, I meane if the Souldiery take all y^e power and new modell y^e kingdome, it is a question how little will be left you to doe, and it may be the lesse the better.

S^r excuse the infirmitie of this letter, I would fayne say some thinge but know not what to say, exceptinge that I will pray for you and rest

London

Your faythfull servant

Temple

Richard Johnson.

December

19, 1648.

I doe perceive this yonge Bretland is dilligent in your Busynesse.

(5) Much honoured Sr

I present my service to you, and because it was your will I should write, I am willinge to doe so, though I have but little to say concerninge your busynesse as yet, all y^e Parliament-men for Lancashire are come downe into y^e countrie to you as far as I can learne, and my most intimate freindes of other counties are restrayned y^e house or doe voluntarily absent themselves, as Mr. Maynard, Mr. Howell, Mr. Lane, and many more, and they tell me that little can be done in regard there is none of Lancashire parliament-men in y^e house to give them satisfaction concerninge you or any other—but they say with all if you will accept of a release from this small number remayneinge, of that office which was given you in a fuller court, your way is this, now the Parliament-men are with you, you may gett up a Certificate from some of them concerninge your age and inabilitytie, and we will get it proferd to some of y^e next County in y^e house, that they may propose it to y^e whole, and then none beinge heere to contradict, possibly you may come of, and the former sheriffe may continue still; now possibly they which are come downe will complayne, at least some of them, that you doe not assume your office, to those your answer and Mr. Bretlands will be good, that you could not gett your patent; And verily if they here should entrust the seale with another then Sr Gilbert Gerard, some will question whether they can or not, and so you cannot have the seale but from him, until y^e whole house take it from him, but wee will not question what the appearing Parliament doth.

I doe not see any danger from your not takeinge the patent in regard Mr. Bretland will make an Affidavit that you could not gett it. I pray God to direct you, and will be allways ready to prove myselfe your faythfull servant

Richard Johnson.

London, Temple,

December 26, 1648.

Draft of letter from Humphrey Chetham to the Speaker :—

(6) Hon^{ble} Sr

About a month since heareing y^e report y^t I was chosen sheriffe of our County of Lanc. I tooke y^e boldnes as well by my l^{res} to y^e Members of y^r ho^{ble} house (for our county) then at London as also

by others to yo^r selfe to make knowne my weak condiçon and inabilites to p^rform that service in respect of my age being neere three score and ten, and also in regard of my mortall infirmity, which hath confined mee to my owne howse for this halfe yeare last, and now keepes mee for y^e most p^rte in my chamber. The truth whereof hath beene in p^rte made known by y^e Certificate of Major Generall Asheton and by y^e l^res and certificates of such other of our gentlemen as were then in y^e country, and also of my physician, and shalbee more fully by others if it bee necessary. I since heard y^t most if not all our country gentlemen members of y^e howse are either come downe or on their way, and hearing nothing of any further order in this businesse I make bold again to recomend y^e publike service of y^e County together wth my feeble condicon to yo^r consideraçon ; and it is my humble petiçon y^t yo^u will please to acquainte y^e ho^{ble} house herewth y^t some other more able for this employ^{mt} may bee thereunto apointed ; for I doubt y^t in regard of y^e more y^a ordinary occurences of late neither yo^r selfe nor y^e members of ou^r County have had y^e oportunity to offer these things to y^e consideration of y^e ho^{ble} howse nor y^e Parliam^t leisure to consider thereof being offered ; I have noe more but my humble service to adde and that I am though weake yet willinge to serve you.

(7) Much honoured S^r

I knowe not yet any farther opportunitie of stirringe in your Busynesse, for the Parliament is busyed in the greate matter of all concerneinge the Kinge, besides I hope that in regard your Ordinance of Parliament is that you should have the Patent under the Greate Seale of England, whereas it ought to be under seale of the Dutchie, you will not be bounde to take cognizance there of. Yet S^r in regard that Ordinances of Parliament have whilest the Parliament sitteth had the power of repealeinge Lawes, it will not be amisse to aske your ffreindes counsells whether it be not amisse to certifie the Lords that you conceive their is a mistake in their Ordinance ; only there is this obstacle in that Course, vz. that if they should either make a newe Ordinance, or els release you from the ould. How that act will be taken, if the estate of things shall alter, I pray God to direct you, for I am ignorant and

see noe light in this mist. I doe heare nowe that of all our Lancashire men Coronell Moore is in ye Parliament and voteth there. I doe not know how hee is disposed to shewe you a courtesie. My former letters proposall unto you doth seeme reasonable of gettinge a certificate from Parliament men in y^e Countrie, that with submission to the houses, they doe humbly conceive there are two mistakes in the Ordinance, the one that it will have the patent to be taken under the Broade Seale of England, when as of right it ought to be taken under y^e Dutchie Seale. The other mistake concerninge your person both in regard of your age and bodyly infirmities, which certificate will first avoyd Contempt of y^e Ordinance. Secondly, it may make them to consider about your release, and your release needes be without danger if they acknowledge the error about y^e Seale; for if they doe not release you, you cannot safely take y^e Broade Seale, so that (I say) they confesse that first error. I hope you nowe have freindes their to give you better instructions. I have not nowe one man left that sitts in y^e Parliament at y^e present that I can much presume uppon, yet I will be your faythfull servant to my power.

Richard Johnson.

London,
Temple,
Jan. 2, 1648[-49].

(8) S^r

. . . . No further mo^on hath hitherto beene concerninge the Sheriffe of Lanc^r However I shall desyre yo^r direc^ons att large by the next w^{ch} way I shall act for yo^u if the Assizes hold and that I p^rceive yo^r likely to be ffyned, whether in regard the Duchy havinge not sitten this tearme nor have any seale, I should p^rcure a mo^on to the house that y^u may sue forth yo^r Patent und^r the great seale. If yo^u referre the manadginge of yo^r business unto me to agitate therein as I see cause I shall really act as for my selfe and soe rest

Yo^{rs}

Jo. Bretland.

13^o ffieb., 1648.

(9) Worthy Sr

Aft^r y^e receipt of y^{rs} yesterday about 3 of y^e clock incessantly I p'sued y^r direccons, waited upon Mr. Speaker till 11 of y^e clock in y^e night, Mr. Twiford assisted me. Y^r L^rer directed to your [?] was d'd, yet noe hopefull answer returned of any escape from y^r office only he said yo^r p'sence would not be expected nor any charge w^{ch} would not be defrayed (if ordinary) nor yet any oath intrenching upon yo^r forme [*sic*]. All these y^u may perceive provision hath beene made by the inclosed. As yet no County Pal. seale for y^t y^u cannot speedily execute y^r office, neither will it be expected from you to seeke for yo^r patent for it will be sent unto y^u wth a Lett^r of request as other sheriffs have. The busines is not nor will not bee of y^t danger or charge y^u apprehend, or I once suspected . . .

By y^r ready servant,

Jo. Bretland.

xx^o febr., 1648.

(10) Sr

Noe meanes hath beene unattempted to p'vent yo^r being of S[heriff] unles it hath beene by y^r L. P. [Letters Patent] w^{ch} is resolved to bee putt in practise to-morrow. Mr. P. B[rereton] hath ingaged himselfe to move and use an instrum^t therein And I have p'mised to p'forme whatever hee shuld ingage himselfe for any Reward &c. Mr. Speakers Secretarie refused a liberall sūme because hee would not effect it, yet said y^t y^e Speaker himself said that yo^r personall attendance would not be expected the state of yo^r body being considered. The duchy seale is made useles and the Court made useles, for y^t by y^e old Sheriffs means a mocon was made that yo^r patent might passe the great seale w^{ch} was ordered accordingly uppon ffriday last. The Commission is in making and a Letter from Mr. Speaker is to bee p'pared for y^u w^{ch} wilbee sent to y^u. I never as yet moved for the same or once menconed any thing otherwise then by inquiry how proceedings stood as yet, noe time p'fixed for any Assizes at Lanc^r or any mencon of any Judge. Collonll Duckenfield used all meanes hee could to y^e L. P. to have p'vented his being of S. yet could not and his patent is sealed ready to bee sent but yo^{rs} not soe forward.

What use can be made of Mr. Minshulls S'tificate shuld. If I cannot discover to-morrow by Mr. Breretons moçon and action that there is a p'babilitie of helping y^u to ease yo^r mind, w^{ch} in this p'ticular I p'ceive to bee troubled then, I intend to sett forward and homewards uppon Thursday next. I have thought uppon some names to p'sent w^{thout} w^{ch} not the least p'babilitie, but truly Mr. Brereton much dispaireth of doing for y^u any good service. Thus abruptly ceaseth hee who will not faile y^u in any thing remaining in the power of

Yo^r friend and servant,

Jo. Bretland.

xxiiij. ffebr., 1648.

Draft of letter from Humphrey Chetham to Mr. Peter Brereton, dated February 23, 1648 :

(11) S^r

. . . . I come now to beg a favor from you w^{ch} if you will endeavor and can effect, it wilbee y^e greatest obligaçon y^t ever you can lay upon mee to serve you in what way soever you shall please to comānd mee. Tis this, to procure mee a discharge (if it bee possible), from the office of Sherriffe of our County, by some meanes of Mr. Sargeant Bradshawe, which I apprehend to bee very feazible by your being as I heare soe highly in his favor; I have not any acquaintance with him at all, and therefore I know not (unlesse by you) how I may aply myself unto him. S^r My case is this, I am almost 70 yeares of age, of a very weake constituçon; I am not able to get on horse backe or lighte but as I am helped by another, nor beinge on horsebacke to ride 2 miles but with extreame paine and grieve, for my particular infirmity encreaseth soe upon mee that it will shortly bringe mee to my grave, w^{ch} being sensible of I have for this halfe yeare and more confined myselfe for the most p^{te} to my owne howse and to my chamber; and now this office being put upon mee by the Parliam^t through the informaçon of our country gent. either out [of] some spleene in those that knew my condiçon, or out of ignorance thereof in others, I neither know how to execute it, if my comiission should bee sent downe, or how to bee discharged from it, Pray, S^r bee pleased to use yo^r endeavors for mee

...

either in the way I have proposed or in what other you thinke more expedient, and bee assured y^t wherein I may stead you you shall have mee to bee

S^r your ready freind and servant.

Clayton ffeb. 23, 1648.

Draft of letter from Humphrey Chetham to John Bretland:—

(12) Mr. Bretland,

I have received yo^r l^re of y^e 20th instant and give yo^u many thanks for yo^r great care and paines w^{ch} I perceive yo^u have taken in those things I comitted to yo^r trust, especially that of y^e great office, for w^{ch} I shalbee ready to requite yo^u, and if yo^r stay there might bee any way conducing to my discharge I would willingly beare yo^r charges. The charges of y^e Office is a thing I matter not at all, nor the danger onely in that sense yo^u apprehend it, for it is both my health and my life also that wilbee endangered. I have learned by experience that it cannot bee executed by mee sittinge altogether in my own howse, and to goe abroad I am not able, which makes mee y^t I cannot have a thought of takeing it upon mee, but rather to suffer what inconvenience may otherwise happen. I have now attempted to try if there bee any hopes frō Mr. Bradshawe by the meanes of Mr. Brereton of Ashley and his brother Mr. Peter Brereton, the one hath promised me to write by this post, to y^e other I have written for that purpose ; whether it wilbee proper for yo^u to bee seene in that way I know not, but pray doe as yo^u shall think best either by yo^r selfe or some other who p'haps may bee more gracious ; if yo^u thinke fitt to stay pray fayle not to lett mee heare frō yo^u ; and advise mee what yo^u thinke best to bee done ; I know not soe well how to direct yo^u as I desire to receive direc^con frō yo^u, but doe not yo^u take out my commission ; I send inclosed a Certificate frō Mr. Minshull my physitian, if either yo^u or Mr. Brereton can make use of it pray doe soe, if not I would desire yo^u bring it backe with yo^u.

I rest,

Yo^r very loveing freind.

Clayton, ffeb. 24th
1648.

Ms. A. 1. 1. 1.

If yo^u could tell mee who might bee a fitt instrum^t for mee to use to Mr. Bradshawe or any other that could effect my purpose or by what other meanes I might effect y^e same I would use it whatever it cost mee.

(13) S^r

I am very sorry (your age and infirmities considered) that you are made Sheriffe, and would be very glad if any endeavour of myne could free you : but I much feare that you have stood so long, and (as I am informed by Mr. Bretland) so much hath alreadie bin therein laboured, by the Speaker's meanes, and otherwise, that it is very improbable to effect any thing nowe. Notwithstanding, I will use my best interest with my Lord President for your service : and if I cannot prevail (as it shall be my warmest endeavour) to procure [you to be] absolutely spared, then I will labour to have the busines so ordered, that you shall not be constrained to travail from your owne house. By the next you shall receive an account of my successe : at present I shall adde no more, but that I am

Sir,

Your loving freind and servant,

27^o Feb., 1648.

Peter Brereton.

[Endorsed]

For my honored freind Humphrey
Chetham Esquire at Clayton,
leave this at Manchester.

(14) Sir,

Considering all meanes, by powerfull freinds and promises, had bin without successe, before you made your desire knowne to me, you could not justly expect other assurance from me than my faithfull endeavours to serve you. Wherein, to the utmost of my power, I have not bin wanting, for according to your desire, I took the first opportunity to possesse my Lord President with the business, fully satisfying him, how inconvenient it would be both to you, and the Parliament, that the office of Sherife, should be imposed upon a gentleman of your yeares and infirmities, at a tyme when the state had much need of an active man. He conceived the proper way of prevention was by some of your Lancashire Parliam^t men, and none

of them save Colonell More being in the House; my Lord was pleased that I should use his Lordship's name unto him. W^{ch} I did accordingly: and Colonell More did confesse it to be very true that you were unfit to be Sherife especially in these tymes; protesting it was against his mind: but the truth was, they had not any more fit in the Countie. I put him thereupon in mind of such as Mr. Bretland had named to me. He said that those, excepting one, were even as aged and infirm as yourself, and concluded that there was not above two in the Countie (whome he named, and you may imagine) that would be active for the Parliam^t, and one of them lived in such an out corner of the Countie that he could not be serviceable, and the burthen of the Place would half undoe the other. Besides, he told me, the Parliament had approved of you, and had directed the Comissioners of the great seal to send you downe your Comission and a discharge to the old sherife under the great seal (the Dutchy Seales not being readie) by the last weekes Post, and that he beleevved they were gone. Notwithstanding, he said, he would think of the business, and desired my Lord President, and myself would do so likewise, and if any way for your relief could be found, he would willingly contribute his assistance. I communicated all unto Mr. Bretland privately (it being not fit, for reasons you may imagine, that he should appeare openly in the business); He acknowledged it to be very true that the Parliam^t had made such Orders, but he assured mee, that neither your Comission nor the old Sherife's discharge were sent downe: there being none that tooke care to take out that Order, and bring it to the six clarkes office. Hereupon, somewhat again encouraged (though I well understood I had an hard game to play), I repaired again to my Lord President, to give him an account how I found things, and to desire his further assistance. He appeared still very sensible of your unfitness, and ready to do you any good office tending to free you from that overburthensome Place. But withall I found his thoughts so wholly taken up in preparing himself for the Lords sentence (expected to be this daye), and for his giving the reasons, the Court went upon in those great points, that it had bin very unseable [unseasonable] for your business, and uncivill in mee, to have pressed him unto any thing on your behalf till the

sentence past. And I rather did forbear, because Colonell Rigbye (who is conceived your good freind) is suddainly expected here. As soone as he comes, I intend to apply myself unto him, and again to my Lord President as soone as it shall be convenient : but I purposely forbear going to Colonell More till this weekes Post be gone. Lest by minding him of the business he might take course about sending downe your Comission by this Post. This necessarie delay will not, I hope, prejudice you : for so long as you have not your Commission delivered to you, and the old Sherife his Writ of discharge, he continues in office, and you need not to take notice at all of any thing. Thus you have an account of my endeavours, not of any success in the business. But be assured I will not leave untill either I have obtained your desire or find that no industrie of mine can compasse it

I am, Sir,

Your assured freind and servant,

Pet. Brereton.

6^o Martii, 1648.

Mr. Bretland assured me you would allow of some competent disbursements (you understand me) if occasion be. Such things sometymes speed ; although I have not bin versed in those wayes yet he pleased to express your mind.

Mr. Bretl'ds sonne assures me the Order is not yet taken out : and if it bee not sometyme this day, things cannot be got ready prepared against the next seal, w^{ch} is to be on Fryday.

(15) Sir,

The more I endeavour in your busines the more I discover how much from tyme to tyme hath bin laboured for your discharge, and consequently find what difficultie nowe to obtain it after you have so long tyme stood. At first I only knewe what Mr. Bretl^d had lately done : but since I understand that in Michaelmas Tearme, Sr R. Assheton procured a meeting of the Parliam^t men of your Country then in Towne, to devise some meanes for your discharge, but could not think of any ; your name being past both houses. Since then, and the newe mouldinge of things, the present Parliament hath confirmed you Sherife, notwithstanding all industry used to the contrarie by Mr. Bretl^d and such freinds as he raised. So that,

B B

all things duly considered, it will be requisite to procure very powerfull freindes, and to furnish them with like powerfull motives to the Parliam^t, or else no good success is to be expected. My I. P. [Low President] (as I writ before) is by my application very sensible how much the tyme requires an active Sherife in your Countie, and how unfit you are to be that man. You need not doubt my endeavours to confirme him in these truthe, and further to be helpfull in procuring your discharge. Yet I conceive you might do very well to procure Sir G. Boothe's particular letter unto him on your behalf: w^{ch} will give further satisfaction, and besides might be a good ground for me to presse him upon, if you please to send that unto me, to be presented unto him. ffor other freinds I shall use that meanes you have entrusted unto me, as much to your advantage as I can. Amongst other grounds for your freindes to move upon, on your behalf, I conceive those Certificates you mencion will be necessary. You may doe well, therefore, speedily to procure from S^r G. Booth and others of quality Parliamentary, a certificate of your constant good affection to the Parliam^t, your great age, and present infirmities, w^{ch} keeping you prisoner in your hous, renders you altogether unable to serve the state as Sherife [*in a marginal postscript*: If you could procure Colonell Birche and others like him to certifie, your business would speed neare^t the worse.] Let also Mr. Minshall certifie a part, and laying down in his Certificate that he is your Phisitian, fully open the nature and danger of your infirmity. Besides, I conceive it will be necessarie to send up a Petitiō underwrit with your hand, grounded likewise upon your affection to the Parliam^t, your great age, infirmities, &c. And because possibly some little punctilloes, necessarie in these tickle tymes, may be mistaken in your Petition, it will therefore be convenient, that besides your Petition (w^{ch} I would have by all meanes to be sent ready drawne), you would send power to some freind here, to alter your Petition, and to subscribe your name to such other as shall be thought fit. You have done very well to furnish me with names inough, of such as are fit to supply the Place: but I pray write the Christian names of Mr. Standish of Duxburie and Colonell Wainman. Those w^{ch} Colonell More affirmed to be so infirme

^t Neare = ne'er = never, or none, the worse.

were Mr. Butterworth, Mr. Hopwood, and Mr. Starky. Colonel Dodding was the Gentleman that lived in a corner of the Countie. You and Colonell More differ wholly about Colonell Birche: and were wee sure that he would willingly undergoe the Place, your discharge would prove more easie, but there is noe attempting to make him Sherife without his free consent. Touching the easing of Sherifes by a late act, give me leave to tell you, that upon perusall thereof, I conceive it only extends to ease them of the charge, in passing their accounts in the Exchequer, and not of any expences in the Country. ffor your better satisfaction I have inclosed the Act itself. However, it may prove to your advantage, shall the World beleive it to be otherwise. I have no more to trouble you with at present, then this short desire, to expedite your necessarie preparations in the Country, and hasting them hither, be assured I will in the interim be making what freinds may be, and ever approve my self

Sir

Your faithful freind
and servant

13^o Mart. 1648.

Pet. Brereton.

Mr. Sergeant Bradshawe, late Lord President of the High Court, is now Lord President of the Counsell of State.

(16) Sir, -

Retrying by chance those Papers here, w^{ch} you call your Certificates, and thought to be lost, and considering how much it concerned to use expedition, I have adventured upon them, to set your business in hand. Yet, notwithstanding, do much desire, you would send by the next, those newe Certificates w^{ch} I writ for by myne last week: possibly they may come before we can have any opportunity to move the business, and may be more effectuell in themselves: these being in truthe not altogether so home,¹ as I could wishe them. It falls out prittie well, that as yet your Comission is not gone out, nor any writ of discharge to the old Sherife. But in an other respect, I conceive your designe to be much

¹ Home = to the point.

more difficult, by Colonell R's¹ coming to Towne, than if he had staid in the Country. It is not without reason that you beleive him to be not over much your friend : for a Gentleman (whose advice I have from tyme to tyme used in your business) said merrily to me, upon advice of his coming, that thereby I was set above five miles about in my journey. And afterwards I was fully confirmed therein, upon discourse with himself : he using many perswasions to move me to rest contented myself, and to satisfie some engines that I had set a work with him. But this onely made me see more plainly the difficulties I had to labour against : and therefore (and because I found the Gentleman, you set me upon, resolved to do nothing without the Colonell, and besides somewhat shye to attempt the alteration of a thing so long settled), I not onely used my utmost interest to keep that Gentleman firmly yours, but I found it necessarie to engage some other freinds, both upon myne owne score, and likewise by that meanes you directed me by your ticket, inclosed in your last weekes letter : that so if possible the Collonell (without whom no good possibly can be done) might be wrought to cooperate for your good. Thus I have laid the designe as strong as I can, and will prosecute home : but cannot assure any thing of the success : yet thus much be confident of, either you shall receive your desire, or full satisfaction that no probable meanes hath bin omitted by,

Sir,

Your assured loving freind and servant,

Pet. Brereton.

20 Mart. 1648.

(17) Sir,

It seemes very strange that myne of the 13th instant came so late to your hands : I am sure I delivered it this day fortnight at Grayes Inne gate with myne owne hand, and sawe it put up in a bag, wth hundreds of other letters. The miscarriage thereof, in regard of your occasions here falleth out something crosse : we thereby

¹ Colonel Alexander Rigby, whose supposed unfriendliness was so much feared, proved himself Humphrey Chetham's greatest aid in his difficulty. See Brereton's letters, pp. 183 and 184. An ample account of the career of Rigby is to be found in *Palatine Note Book*, vol. iii.

wanting those newe Certificates, from Sr G. Booth and the rest : notwithstanding I have thought it unfit to stay the business for them, but rather to put it on upon the old ones. That soe, if possible, somewhat may be effected this week : lest, there being to be a seal next Munday, your Commission happen then to be sealed, and so the business be more difficult by soe much. There is so little hope of prevailing, without the assistance of those Gentlemen you knowe of (specially of him that came last), it being a thing concerning their owne Countie, that to me it lookes almost like an impossibility. Wherefore, conceiving their favour to be so necessary, I cast about for some meanes to attaine it : I durst not, for divers reasons attempt that way mencioned in the Ticket : but happeley fell upon an other : w^{ch} hath taken so hansomely, that (notwithstanding their averseness) they will (if there be any faith in their promises) take the first opportunity to effect the worke. By the next, if things hitt right in the interim, you shall receive a desired account from,

Sir,

Your loving friend and servant,

Pet. Brereton.

27^o Mart. 1649.

(18) Noble Sr

I present my service unto you, and am very sorry that I could be noe more serviceable to you both in regard of myne owne infirmitie w^{ch} hath so longe oppressed me and keepeth me within, as also the Lord Commissioner Whitlock, the Cheife of the Commissioners for the Greate Seale, and my freind hath beene out of the Towne and cometh not agayne untill y^e later end of the weeke. I have been some what unfortunate also in seekinge Mr. Brereton for in regard I cannot goe in y^e morninges in regard both of myne infirmitie and the Busynesse in the Church, I have nowe these three or fower tymes missed of him although I stayd once above two houres to speake with him. I purpose God willinge to goe once more to him before I sleepe because I perceive some what more necessatie of the work of your releasement then ever, in regard I understand the Sherrifs of London have refused to proclayme the

Act of Parliament concerninge Government by way of Commonwealth and I heare all other Sherriffs are required to publish the same. I speake not this to discourage, or any wayes to instruct you what is fit to be done, but where mens states are endangered uppon an alteration I thinke it Christian like that you should make the benefite of your ould age and many infirmities, if they may free you from this office, ffor why should you hurt yourselfe by undergoeing such a peice of service wherein you are unable to proffit the Commonwealth. Sir, I will not be wantinge to performe my best endeavour; but the fast must be over before I can stir much in it. I pray God be with you and in greate hast I rest

Your faythfull Servant,

Richard Johnson.

London, Temple,

March y^e 27 1649.

Since the writeinge of the former part of this letter, I have beene with Mr. Peter Brereton whome I finde to be very sensible of your age and infirmitie, and to be a most faythfull and industrious sollicitour for you. I did returne him many thanks in your name as you gave me commandment, he hath not used only his paynes and his witts but hath engaged the greatest freindes hee hath in Englande who have promised to doe their best. I pray God to give good successe. Sr it is necessary you doe returne him many thanks, and especially if it succeed well to reward him well. He tells mee that some parl. men (you may conjecture who) are not your freindes. If they appeare to move it will goe hard. Munday we think is the day. Some greate men hath made Mr. Brereton very large promises to doe their best.

The good offices of Mr. Brereton at length had their desired result, and on 2nd April, 1649, John Hartley, of Strangeways, Esq., was nominated Sheriff of Lancashire. The next letters reveal the fact that Humphrey Chetham wished to bestow some material proofs of his gratitude on those who had served him. The influential and incorruptible man who refused a reward, alluded to by Brereton as "the other," was Col. Alexander Rigby.

(1) Sir,

I am exceeding sorry to understand by your last that your infirmity so grievously increaseth: had the freeing your mind from some vexing thoughts, brought ease likewise to your body, I should have much more rejoiced, in the success of myne endeavours: but as possibly your sadness may have bin one of the principall causes that your disease has arrived to this height, so your content may in a shorter tyme mitigate the same. Your inclosed letters I delivered yesterday, with some little intimation what was further intended. Coll. John^r returned me such an answeare as gave me no just cause to dispair of acceptance. But the other unto whome you are much obliged, said plainly any offer would prove vaine: he had hitherto bin and resolved to continue a Virgin. Unto w^{ch} I replied somewhat of the favour received, and of your earnest desire to express a thankfullness. This begot some ceremonyes and complem^{ts}: but without any signe at all in him of yeilding to my desire or retiring from his owne severe resolution. Yet, not knowing, but like other maids, he may say noe, and take it, I shall notwithstanding make a fair offer: that so your gratitude may be duely exprest, and, if it may be, this opportunity, so improved, that he hereafter may upon all occasions be your freind

I have no more to adde, but my Prayers for your health, wth this short assurance, that I am,

Sir,

10^o Ap. 1649.

Your freind and servant,

Pet. Brereton.

(2) Sir,

Before yours of the 10th and 14th instant came to myne hands all things (upon credit of your Bill), were prepared and dispatched. But to do every man right I must acquaint you that no part of the Plate (w^{ch} was all included in the Ticket) will be received by either of the Gentlemen you know of: though severally thereunto prest, with as much earnestness as might stand with civillity. Their favours being thus cast upon another score (w^{ch} yet you must owne and acknowledge when you see them) I returned the Plate, and now stand accountable for the money being 30^{li}. All the rest is

^r Probably Col. John Moore, M. P. for Liverpool.

accepted by them unto whome it is due by promise : though I spare to trust their names to this Paper, yet be assured you shall ever find them ready to do you any further friendly office. Touching my self you may firmly believe this truthe that I enter'd into the business with this single intention, of serving you in your so just desire, and have not since a jot valued myne owne paines, but continually thought them well bestowed. Yet, admitting myne endeavours have merited any thing, I am sure your nobleness hath set too high an esteeme upon them. With what satisfaction, therefore, to myne owne judgment or conscience, I can receive so large an acknowledgment, is yet beyond myne understanding. Leaving this therefore to further consideration, be pleased at present to knowe that I have not yet (though I much desired it) seene Mr. Hartley but have heard of him in severall places. He pretends, as a just cause for his discharge, weaknesse of estate, through many losses and deadness of Trade in these miserable tymes. Colonell More seems willing to assist him in his designe, so Colonell Rygbie will joyne, and that the Speaker (without whose favour it is extreamely difficult to get a motion) may be perswaded to advance the business. But I cannot find that Colonell Rygbie gives any encouragement to proceed : and I am confident that he (having bin the principall man in bringing you off, and the sole man in commending the other to the Parliament, and without whome no good is to be expected in this designe) will never be perswaded to blow hot and cold with one breath. So either be that little hope of success or you no feare, that his speeding can prejudice you. It remaynes therefore for you to enjoy that ease w^{ch} you had obtained quietly (w^{thout} further troubling yourself) applying your thoughts unto your health onely, leaving the care of what is to be done here unto your freinds : amongst whom you may be sure of my constant vigilancy and the rather, would you be pleased to afford me some such other opportunity to serve you that I might with any little satisfaction to myne thoughts accept of that extraordinary favour you have bestowed upon,

Sir,

Your faithfull freind and servant,

17^o Ap. 1649

Pet. Brereton.

(3) S^r

After your neighbour¹ had used all possible endeavour to have procured himself discharged, and found it was not to be done, he was desirous to have submitted himself to fine and imprisonment: but being assured by his friends the House could make an example of him and use him with much severity, he resolved to undertake the place. He went hence yesterday towards Lancashire, much discouraged against divers, particularly against me: though indeed I was no more but the innocent occasion, not at all any cause, of his being Sherife. For I protest, I did never directly or indirectly name him, nor give in his name, nor never knewe of his being in question, till I saw his name in that Order, whereby you were discharged.

Your ever loving

friend and humble servant

12^o Junii 1649.

Peter Brereton.

The following letters to Chetham do not concern the Shrievalty business, but are worth quoting on account of the public as well as personal interest that they possess:—

(1) Much honoured S^r

After longe silence, I think it nowe high tyme to remember my due service, and respects to your selfe, with my thanks for all your love. I have noe newes for you, which is much considerable. The Parliament after their short adjournment doe sit agayne uppon to morrow beinge Wednesday. There hath beene a foolish and unhappy uproar by the Apprentices heere in London and divers persons have beene slayne in it. I understand contrarie to the Ordinance of Parliament, and some decree lately of the Justices of Peace also for Middlesex, the Apprentices some of them would take libertie to play in Moore feilds uppon the Lords day; the Lord Mayor sent some soldiers to take them up, and uppon this some quarrells grewe amongst them, whether because they would not leave their sports, or that they do not affect the soulder and army I cannot tell, but some were slayne, and then more came in to the apprentices assistance, of Butchers and other discontented persons, as I heare, and made the souldiers to flee at y^e press,

¹ John Hartley. See page 182.

followed them to White hall, and some of them went to the Lord Mayors house and took two Drakes¹ from thence, or one at the least, and other armour from other places, and grewe to a greate head, but uppon Munday weare suppressed by the souldiers, and some of them are like to suffer. What the issue of this will be noe man knowes, some think if the Cittie shall be found faultie heerein by connivenige or otherwise, that they must come of the purse and so expiate this fault ; others that it will bringe y^e army up towards London, if the disquietnesse of other places will permitt that ; whether soever of these happen, it is feared, it maketh for ruine, begetteninge more ill cloud and disaffection, which I feare is very greate all ready.² I sawe a letter that the Prince Charles is in Scotland, but some contradict it. Wise men heere conceive the Scot will not settle peace if hee should come, but feare a kinde of ruine first through that which they call oppression and . . . taxes, then when Mammon the God which hath ruled and awed many, all this while, is gone, there will through continued greavances bee some breakeninge forth in the kingdom, either to settle it in some way, which they have not pitched uppon as yet (for none of these wayes as I see doe please) or els destroy all ; I pray God be merciful to the land. What the intention of the Scot is, I believe is not knowne . . . ever people talke . . . hath made the world lesse desireable then ever, and it is for this end that heaven may be more deare unto us. Sr I desire your prayers and I pray for you. Restinge

Your obliged servant

London,

Richard Johnson.

Temple y^e

11 of April 1648.

- (2) Sr I shall give my Master noe accompt of his businesse this weeke because I intend to come homeward on Thursday morneing next ; therefore pray write not by the returne of this post nor send the writeing yo^u mentioned in yo^r last. I send yo^r lfe and the

¹ Drake = a kind of small cannon.

² Cf. the account of this riot in Gardiner's *History of the Great Civil War*, 1893, vol. iv. pp. 97-99.

order &c. together with my Masters. For newes: there came this day to the Parliamt 4 or 5000 of the Surrey men to present the petition inclosed. The Lords (I heard) gave them a kind of an answer (after much debate whether they should receive the petition or noe) that they would take it into consideraçon and give them satisfacçon in their desires soe farre as might stand with the safety of the kingdome, and soe arose about noone or before. The Comons sate longer and gave them noe answer (as I heard the relaçon) whereuppon about 5 a clocke this afternoone the Country men pressed towards the Parliamt doore where the guard would not suffer them to approach, but being many they forct through the guard at the head of the staires into the Lobby; and then the Parliamt sent them word to bee quiet and they should have their desires, wherupon they being overjoyed departed into the hall crying out a King a King. The guard in the Pallace yard hearing this sent for the rest of the horse at the Mewes at the foot at Whitehall who being come together took occasion at a Captaines boy being stricke, that was runninge with a naked sword to part (as hee said) a waterman and another that were struggling in the Pallace yard; and fell upon the Countrymen who haveing [no arms] but rod or sticks in their hands fled away some into the hall some to the water stairs and where they could save themselves, but there are 7 slaine and some 100 more wounded, some of the Country gent. taken into custody into Whitehall, amongst whom are some of quality as I gather by this that a Captaine of the Parliamt soldiers went bare to him [*sic*]. There are 2 or 3 of the soldiers kild and some hurt; people cry out upon the soldiers; this day fortnight the Kēntishe men were resolved to come; but it may be this accident will cause them to make their addresse in another manner than by petition. Suffolcke hath beēne in armes these 4 or 5 dayes and whether yet appeased I heare not; they will pay noe more taxes nor excise, nor suffer free quarters. The businesse of Wales is yet variously reported, but wee must have a thanksgiving tomorrow for Poyers defeat.¹

I rest Sr

May 16th 1648.

Yo^r humble servant (Unsigned)

¹ According to Gardiner, *Op. Cit.*, vol. iv. p. 127, the thanksgiving for the victory of the Parliamentarians at St. Fagan's was on May 15. A memoir of John Poyer, by Mr. C. H. Firth, will be found in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

Though I had occasion to bee at Westminster the most part of this day, yet I had the lucke to bee away when the tumult was, soe y^t I was not an eye witsesse, but I went thither as soone as I heard of it that [I] might give you some relation thereof.¹

(3) Much honoured S^r

Every remembrance of you is comfortable to me, and such are my engagements to your selfe, that there is nothinge in the world, w^{ch} wisdome and love can aske, but gratitude bindes me to it, and I should be ready to doe it, but S^r I beseech you heare me a few wordes, and if when I have spoken, your request seeme reasonable, you should have such answer from me, in layinge downe my fellowship as becomes him who partly owes it to you. first S^r concerning y^e matter of the Temples place, I am not invested with it nor with any other at this present, and although I have had many gracious offers of it, yet myne owne iudgement and my friends advice bad mee rather be a Probationer, w^{ch} hard condiçon I have through the Grace of God undergone two years and a quarter with all my abilitie: and purpose so to doe, until y^e Lord be pleased to putt y^e Kingdome in some more peaceable and stable condiçon.² Yett S^r assure your selfe, this delay, or, as you may construe it, deny all procedes not from myne sence and judgment alone, but from divers parliament men, who are my protectors heere, with whome I have advised, whome I have acquaynted that although the same men that imprisoned me allotted me twenty shillings a weeke w^{ch} appeareth by there Order to be payd me out of my fellowshipe, yet there of I never received any thinge at all so that y^e College hath

¹ *Chet. MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 68.

² The date of Johnson's appointment to the Mastership of the Temple is given in Maitland's *Hist. of London*, 1775, vol. ii. p. 972, as 1647, and this is followed by Raines in his *Fellows of Manchester College*, vol. i. pp. 126-7. It appears from the letter now quoted that he was not actually "invested with it" until later. The date 1647 is, however, given in the official list of *Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple and Masters of the Temple*, 1883, where the following passage is quoted from *Inner Temple Acts of Parliament*, May 20, 1647: "For the better raising of such moneys as already are and hereafter will become further payable from this House to Mr. Johnson for his paines in the ministry preaching and officiating in the Temple Church, ordered every Fellow of this Society be rated for every terme—Benchers 2s., every Utter Barrister 1s. 6d., every other fellow twelve pence for soe long tyme as the said Mr. Johnson shall continue in his ministry."

all y^e monies belonging to y^e place to mayntayne preachers, that two others of the ffellowes had undoubtedly other places, and I had none, that of any they needed not seise myne; they did surmise that there was some deeper designe in the matter; and I must needes say I feared so at the first, though not from your selfe S^r (God forbid I should think so) for when you are pleased to mention the Warden, and fellowes readynesse to bestowe the place uppon this gentleman Mr. Walker,¹ I did not doubt how they could, *habeo juramento*, consideringe hee must be a Master of Arts, that must have this place by the Statutes, and I had a stronge opinion uppon information, that this gentleman is but Batchelor of Arts, and so accordinge to present Lawes uncapeable. Worthy S^r I beseech you mistake me not, all that you say to me is welcome, and I thankfully take it, yet I did believe of all men in the world you would not have made this motion. But I know it proceedes from your ignorance of myne estate; I have endeavoured to doe good to the place, and it may please God I may doe agayne, in regard God hath denyed me Children, lesse will serve my turne, then I either have or through his Grace am like to have. I beare no man ill will there; if a settlement of things happen I looke for a call agayne thither, where if God preserve both our lives I hope to see you my ould ffreinde and to enjoy your company. Good S^r deny it me not. Besides S^r that I may keepe one argument for the last w^{ch} I believe is unanswerable, I am charged to stirre nothinge in this matter until I understand what the mynde of the Parliament is, and howe they will dispose of the place, for at this instant the Deane and Prebends of Christ Church in Oxford are with the Parliament to knowe whether they come within their meaneing or not in y^e dissolveinge of Deanes and Chapters; and other places like them are now questioned, and they tell me that I may do a peice of disservice to them in bringeinge the case of provideinge another place for the gentleman, if they should dissolve it with other Corporations, w^{ch} I would not have done, if God weare so pleased. S^r I humbly entreate you and the Gentleman a little to stay, and see howe the kingdome will be settled and how I shall be settled els

¹ A notice of William Walker is given in Raines's *Fellows of Manchester College*, vol. i. p. 173.

where if I fayle of myne expectation concerninge myne owne place,
and assure your selfe that I shall then give you such an answer as
will become an honest man, a lover of that place and people,
and your owne humble servant

London

Richard Johnson.

Temple November 28, 1648.

Worthy Sr You may well conceive your letter comeinge to my
hands the morninge that it hath cost me some trouble to advise
with my freindes and now it is past nyne of clock in y^e night and I
am to preach twice and expounde to morrow on the fast and there-
fore I doe beseech you to pardon the oversights in this letter which
may happen. The substance is all true and I hope will content you
till I can give a better answer.

Your humble servant

Richard Johnson.

To the Right Wor^{ll} Humphrey Chetham Esquire at his house,
Cleyton neare Manchester in Lancashire. The post is payd 6d.

CHAPTER XIV.

WE know from the oft-quoted statement in Humphrey Chetham's Will, which was executed on the 16th December, 1651, that he had in his "life-time taken up and maintained" fourteen poor boys of the town of Manchester, six of the town of Salford, and two of Droylsden. It has not been ascertained when he began this act of beneficence, though it is evident from several cancelled wills that his mind had long been bent on this and similar good works. Thus in a will dated 25 May, 1642, he states "I have already conveyed and assured certeyne lands and hereditaments unto severall persons to and for the better reliefe of the poor aged and impotent people which for the tyme being shall inhabitt and dwell within the townes of Manchester . . . and Salford . . . and for the setlinge of poor people there on worke, and placing and byndinge of poore boys born and inhabiting in the said townes apprentices in such manner and forme as by the said conveyance and assurance thereof in such behalfe doth and may more at large appeare."

In the same will he provided for a sum of £1000 to be expended so as to yield fifty pounds a year for the "better augmentation of the relief of the aforesaid poore people." This yearly sum was to be spent in the above objects and in "placing and maynteyninge of poore schollars born within Manchester and Salford at the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford . . . until such tyme . . . as they shall respectively attayne unto and accomplish their severall degrees of Batchelor of Arts." He also proposed to leave £300, to produce fifteen pounds annually, for the poor of Bolton and Turton.¹

¹ Copy in Allen's Papers, bundle B, Chetham Library.

In a previous cancelled will, dated 14 February, 1636[-7], there is no mention of apprenticing poor boys, the provisions of a public nature relating only to the succour of the aged poor, and the augmentation of the stipends of the ministers of Newton, Gorton, and Turton Chapels.¹

On March 17, 1648-9, Chetham wrote the following letter² to Ralph Brideoake, as agent for the Earl of Derby:—

S^r I desired yo^r Company a little longer when you were last here, y^t I might have imparted my Mind to you by Word which I could better have done then thus by L^re, which yet I choose rather then loose the Opportunity of sending now into the Island ;³ But before I tell you any thing let mee enjoyne you Secresy to all men but my Lord, lest you frustrate my Desires of doing, and others the benefit of haveing good by the accomplishm^t of my Designe. S^r I am purposeing, and (if Gods goodnesse permit not the wickednesse of the warrs or some other extraordinary accident to hinder it) am resolved to make an hospitall at Manchester; and for that purpose have thought the Colledge a fitt place, and considering the uselesnes of it to his Lo^p in the times of peace, much more now being sequestered, a great p^te of it spoyld and ruin'd and become like a dunghill, as (it may bee), you know, soe that it will never be fitt for his Lo^p's use, without as much cost in repairing it, as would build a more comodious House—Its like his Lo^p may bee inclined not onely to the present useing of it for such a purpose, but also to y^e absolute sale thereof hereafter upon reasonable tearmes when his estate shall come in his owne possession. I doubt not but I could have it of the sequestrators, but without his honor's consent and approbation, I shall never make such a

¹ Original will in Chetham Library. From a note by the Rev. J. T. Allen it appears that wills bearing the following dates have been found: 13 Sept., 1631, 19 Dec., 1635, 14 Feb., 1636, 23 April, 1639, 4 Nov., 1640, 25 May, 1642, 16 Oct., 1644, 9 Aug., 1650.

² A draft of this letter, the first part of which seems to be in the hand of Edward Chetham or of Lightbowne, and the postscript in Humphrey's own hand, is preserved in Allen's Papers, bundle N, in the Chetham Library.

³ The Isle of Man.

mocon. I hear there is a barke going for the Island, if you will make my thoughts and intensions knowne to his honor, and by the returne of this or the first barke let mee know his Lo^p's inclination or aversenes to second the same, you shall oblige mee to bee

Your very loveing Freind.

Y^t hath been a prison a longe tyme ffor as many prisoners as yt would hould, as thereby is become most noysome and ffylthey, and by making of gunne powther some of the roof is blown of and other some is ffalne of, soe as thereby yt is become uninhabitable, and the tymber being rotted ffrom of slate—will require great cost to make y^t usefull, the walls that made yt severall are taken away to make Centeries at divers streets of the towne, soe as yt lyes comon and the towne swyne make their abode both in the yards and house.

The reply to this letter, if any was ever made, has not been found. In any case Chetham was bound to come to terms with the Committee of Sequestration. His application to that body was supported by the chief inhabitants of Manchester and Salford, and was cordially received by the majority of the Committee, by whom the following agreement was signed on 10th September, 1649¹ :—

Whereas there is a howse and outhowseinge with th'appurtenances in Manchester, called the Colledge, which was sequestered as parte of the Inheritance of the Erle of Derby, the which have yielded noe profit to the publicke duringe the tyme the same hath bin sequestred, nor is liklie to doe unles the same bee repaired, which will require a great sume of money, the same being very ruinous and in greate decay, as wee are informed, And whereas Humfrey Chetham Esquire hath desired the same to bee employed for a pious use, viz^t., for an habitation for some poore children, or aged and infirme ould folkes, which hee intended to maintaine and provide for at his owne costes and charges, And will make the same or some partes thereof habitable and fitte for that purpose. Wee whose names are Subscribed of the Comittee of Sequestrators

¹ Whatton's *History*, p. 177; *Chetham MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 113.

for the Countie of Lancaster, beinge willinge to further soe good a worke, doe give waye, and have, soe farre as in us lyes, to the said Mr. Chetham, to have and use the said Colledge howse with th' appurtenances, to and for the use and purpose aforesaid. Whereunto wee doe the rather consent for that wee are thereunto Sollicit by some of the chiefe Inhabitants of the Townes of Manchester aforesaid and Salford, in the said Countie of Lanc^r:— In witnes whereof wee have hereunto set our handes the tenth daie of September, Anno dni 1649

Peter Egerton.

John Starkie.

Tho. Ffell.

Edw. Butterworth.

When this paper was taken to Thomas Birch, another of the members, for his signature, that gentleman was pleased to attach the following articles of agreement for Chetham's acceptance:—

Sept. 20th 1649. I Humphrey Chetham esq^{re} do undertake to maintaine twentie poor people at the Colledge, viz, aged persons, with everie one per annum, and younge boyes to learninge, with allowance of per annum; for which purpose I will settle a durable and constant estate of that value out of lands for ever, as assurance to that purpose may be thought fitt and drawne up by Counsell learned in the lawes

In the presence and witnes of, &c.

These conditions were considered to indicate distrust of Chetham's intentions, and the negotiations were broken off. The following remarks, probably by Mr. Lightbowne, are attached to the above paper:—

Remember that the forementioned terms and conditions were proposed by Mr. Birch of Birch Chapell to Mr. Chetham, when James Lightbowne, &c., were sent to the said Thomas Birch for his hand and consent (hee being then a Comittee man for sequestration), which said proposalls, when Mr. Chetham saw them, was much offended that Mr. Birch should bee so lordly to comand over soe Charitable an intention: And therefore did refuse to buy the Colledge.

When Major Radcliffe, one of the ffeoffees, saw the abovesaid sawcie proposal of the said Tho. Birch, he cutt it forth, as may appear; which is still preserved, that if ever this in after ages bee taken notice of, it may and will appear that always the greatest pretenders for reformation do not proove reformers.

The document is endorsed "The Order ffor the Colledg from the Comitte, hindered by Mr. Birch. Lett this be kept for a lasting monument."

While these negotiations were pending Chetham was actually engaged in carrying out his beneficent intentions, designating his plan of operations by the name of "Hospital," though it is apparent that the recipients of his charity were not received into any special building, but were boarded out at the houses of five or six families in Manchester and Salford. It is possible, indeed probable, that the children were brought to some central place to receive their schooling; of this, however, there is no positive evidence.

Mr. Whatton, in his *History of the Chetham Hospital* (pp. 171-175), quotes the following statement of Chetham's expenses for the maintenance and clothing of his twenty-two boys from the 27th October, 1649, to the 4th June, 1651. It is from a manuscript book, the first part of which he rather hastily conjectures to be in the handwriting of the founder¹:—

A HOSPITALL BOOKE OF ACCOMPTES.

27 Oct., Imprimis

1649. Paid Ja. Lightbowne for 4 peeeces of blew

kersie the sum of - - - - 008 00 06

Pd for 65 yardes of Linnen Cloath - - 002 14 00

¹ Mr. Whatton states that the original "book" had been found on the death of a Mrs Dixon of Salford, who had formerly lived with some of the Chetham family. The above accounts are written on six leaves of paper which have been rebound and placed in the Chetham Library (No. 28,877, press mark MS. A7. 30). Whatton's transcription has here been corrected from the original.

At the first meeting of the Feoffees, on 6th Dec., 1653, they recorded in their minutes the names of twenty-two boys who "were found to bee received in and maintained by Mr. Humfrey Chetham for the space of three yeares and ten moneths past, until the 4th day of October 1653."

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---|-----------|
| | Pd for a pounce and $\frac{1}{2}$ of blacke and browne threed - - - - - | 000 03 09 |
| | Pd for 32 y ^{ds} of linnen Cloath for lyneinge | 001 04 06 |
| | Pd for 18 dozen of threed buttons - - - | 000 01 06 |
| | Pd more for threed - - - - - | 000 01 05 |
| 7 Nov ^r ., 1649 | Pd for holland and Scotch cloath for bandes - - - - - | 000 11 02 |
| | Pd for Bees waxe and more Buttons - - - | 000 02 02 |
| | Pd for a pounce of threed - - - - - | 000 02 06 |
| | Pd for makinge 44 bandes for the Hospi- tall Boyes - - - - - | 000 07 00 |
| | Pd more for 18 doz ⁿ of Buttons and 2 ^d in threed - - - - - | 000 01 08 |
| | Pd George Walker for 60 dayes worke of himselfe and his Men, at 4 ^d p. diem, & XII ^d over at all for makinge the Hos- pitall Boyes Cloathes - - - - - | 001 01 00 |
| | Pd more for y ^r dyate, at 6 ^d p. diem every man - - - - - | 001 10 00 |
| 3 Dec., 1649. | Pd Rob. Walworke for 22 pa. of Shooes, at 19 ^d paire, for the Hosp. boyes, amounts to - - - - - | 001 14 10 |
| | Pd for points for y ^e bandes & coates; and shooties with laces for undercoates; in all | 000 01 07 |
| 4 Dec., 1649. | Pd George Walker Tayleor, the day the children were cloathed in wages 6 ^d ; for his dyatt 6 ^d - - - - - | 000 01 00 |
| | Pd Ja. Lightbowne more for 33 y ^{ds} of yel- low bayes at 20 ^d p. yd., and for dyinge & dressinge the blewe kersies a fore- named, y ^e summe of - - - - - | 004 14 02 |
| | Pd for Bookes for y ^e Hosp ^l boyes, as appears by Ja. Lightbowne's note of p'ticulers - - - - - | 000 08 03 |
| | Pd in Expences y ^e day y ^e Hosp ^l boyes were arayed - - - - - | 000 00 08 |
| | Pd for this Booke of Accomptes - - - | 000 00 06 |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|--|-----|----|----|
| 15 Dec., | Pd for y ^e Table of 21 Hosp ^l boyes to Ja. | | | |
| 1649. | Lightbowne for one month commencing 5 Decemb., 1649, 7 ^{li} a.m. aft ^r 4 ^{li} | | | |
| | a year for every Child, I saie - - | 007 | 00 | 00 |
| | Pd more to Robert Walworke for y ^e Hosp ^l | | | |
| | Boyess shooes the sume of - - | 000 | 01 | 01 |
| 3 Jan., | Pd Richard Worrall de Salford for y ^e | | | |
| 1649. | Table of 8 Hosp ^l boyes for 1 monthe - | 002 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd Jo. Slater wife for y ^e Table of 5 Hosp ^l | | | |
| | boyes for 1 monthe - - - - | 001 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd Richard Standishe for y ^e Table of 4 | | | |
| | Hosp ^l boyes 1 monthe - - - - | 001 | 06 | 08 |
| | Pd Jennet Smith (uxor Johis) for y ^e Table | | | |
| | of 2 Hosp ^l boyes for 1 monthe - - | 000 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd uxor Riçi Hall for y ^e Table of 2 Hosp ^l | | | |
| | boyes for 1 monthe - - - - | 000 | 13 | 04 |
| | Paid uxor Jo. Hopwood Vid for y ^e Table | | | |
| | of 1 Hosp ^l boye for 1 monthe, commencing 3 Jan. 1649 - - - - | 000 | 06 | 08 |
| | Sum. Tot. | 037 | 09 | 11 |
| 26 Jan., | Paid for 2 construing bookes - - - | 000 | 01 | 00 |
| 1649. | Pd for a Testament - - - - | 000 | 01 | 05 |
| 1 ^o Ffeb., | Pd Rich. Worrall of Salford for the Table | | | |
| 1649. | of 8 Hosp ^l Boyes for 1 monthe - - | 002 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd Jo. Slater wife de Milnegate for y ^e | | | |
| | Table of 5 Hosp ^l Boyes for 1 monthe - | 001 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd Richard Standishe de Milnegate for y ^e | | | |
| | Table of 4 Hosp ^l Boyes for 1 Mon. - | 001 | 06 | 08 |
| | Pd Richard Halls wife, Vid. de Miln- | | | |
| | gate for y ^e Table of 2 Hosp ^l Boyes for | | | |
| | 1 mon. is - - - - - | 000 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd more to Widow Hopwood of y ^e Mar- | | | |
| | ketsted lane for y ^e Table of 3 Hosp ^l | | | |
| | Boyes for 1 monthe; die Martis 5 febr- | | | |
| | uarii, 1649 - - - - - | 001 | 00 | 00 |

| | | | | |
|-------------------|--|-----|----|----|
| | Pd for 4 Scotch Primmers for 4 of y ^e | | | |
| | Hosp ^l boyes the Sum ^e of - - - | 000 | 00 | 10 |
| | Pd Jo. Slater wife w ^{ch} which was laid out | | | |
| | by her for y ^e mendinge of 2 pa. of Shoos | | | |
| | of y ^e Hosp ^l Boyes - - - | 000 | 00 | 04 |
| 8 Mart., 1649. | Pd by George Travis to Rich. Worrall of | | | |
| | Salford for tablinge 8 Hosp ^l Boyes for | | | |
| | one mo. y ^e sum of - - - | 002 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd more to G ^e Tr. to Uxor Jo. Slater de | | | |
| | Milnegate for Tablinge 5 H. B. one mo. | 001 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd Rich. Standish for tablinge 4 H. B. for | | | |
| | one mo. - - - | 001 | 06 | 08 |
| | Pd Uxor Ric. Hall, vid. for tabl. 2 Hosp. B. | | | |
| | for 1 mo. - - - | 000 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd more by G. T. to Vid. Hopwood of ye | | | |
| | Marketsteed lane for Tab. 3 H. B. for | | | |
| | one mo. die veneris 8 ^o Martis Anno | | | |
| | Domini 1649 - - - | 001 | 00 | 00 |
| | Pd more to Rich. Worrall for a girdle and | | | |
| | mendinge their shooes by Geo. Travis 8 | | | |
| | Martis 1649 - - - | 000 | 00 | 05 |
| | Pd more for a Psalter 10 ^d a Latine Booke 2d | 000 | 01 | 00 |
| | Pd George Walker, Tayleor for mendinge | | | |
| | y ^e H. Boyes cloathes after y ^e rate of 8 ^d | | | |
| | p. diem for 2 daies & a halfe is - - | 000 | 01 | 08 |
| | Pd more for Buttons and threed - - | 000 | 01 | 09 |
| 30 Mart. 1650. | Pd to y ^e Cobler for mendinge y ^e Hosp. bo. | | | |
| | shooes for a quarter of a year - - | 000 | 13 | 09 |
| | Pd more for a Cordelius 6 ^d Primmer 3 ^d | | | |
| | Hornebooke 1 ^d in all - - - | 000 | 00 | 10 |
| 8 April, 1650. | Pd more to Rich. Worall of Salford for y ^e | | | |
| | Table of 8 Hosp ^l Boyes for one mon. | | | |
| | y ^e sum of - - - | 002 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd Jo. Slaters wife of y ^e Milnegate for y ^e | | | |
| | table of 5 Ho. Bo. for 1 mo. y ^e sume of | 001 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd Rich. Standishe of y ^e Milnegate for 1 | | | |
| | mo. table of 4 Ho. boyes y ^e Sume of - | 001 | 06 | c8 |

| | | | | |
|---------------------|---|-----|----|----|
| | Pd Rich. Halls wife of y ^e Milnegate for y ^e | | | |
| | table of 2 Hosp ^l b. for 1 mo. is - - | 000 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd more to Widdowe Hopwood of y ^e | | | |
| | Marketsteed lane for y ^e table of 3 H. b. | | | |
| | for 1 mo. 8 th April 1650 - - - | 001 | 00 | 00 |
| | Summa tot. | 023 | 03 | 00 |
| 4 Maij | | | | |
| 1650. | Pd for 2 construing bookes and 1 primmer | 000 | 01 | 03 |
| 6 Maij | Pd Rich. Worrall for y ^e table of 8 Hosp ^l | | | |
| 1650. | boyes for 1 month to come from y ^e date | | | |
| | afores ^d - - - - - | 002 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd Jo. Slaters wife for y ^e table of 5 ho. b. | | | |
| | for 1 mo. - - - - - | 001 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd Ric. Standish for tablinge 4 h. b. for | | | |
| | 1 mo. - - - - - | 001 | 06 | 08 |
| | Pd Ric. Halls wife for tablinge 2 h.b. for 1 | | | |
| | mo. - - - - - | 000 | 13 | 04 |
| | Pd more to Widow Hopwood for tabling | | | |
| | 3 h. bo. for one monthe to come from | | | |
| | 6 ^o Maij 1650 y ^e sum - - - | 001 | 00 | 00 |
| 7 Junii. | Pd by Geo. Travis die veneris 7 ^o Junii | | | |
| | 1650 to y ^e above mençoned House- | | | |
| | houlders for y ^e table of 22 Hosp ^l boyes | | | |
| | for 1 mon. to come from y ^e date afors ^d | 007 | 06 | 08 |
| | Pd for a Testament for 1 hosp ^l boy - | 000 | 01 | 06 |
| | Pd for a construing booke for a hosp ^l boye | 000 | 00 | 06 |
| | Pd Tayleor for mendinge Hosp ^l b. cloathes | 000 | 00 | 02 |
| 19 July. | Pd by Geo. Travis die veneris 19 ^o July | | | |
| | 1650 to y ^e Househoulders for y ^e table of | | | |
| | 22 Hosp ^l boyes for a mo. aforehand - | 007 | 06 | 08 |
| | Pd y ^e Cobler for 1 Quart ^r of a year 19 ^o | | | |
| | July 2 ^s 6 ^d p. an. for every boy - - | 000 | 13 | 09 |
| 7 ^o Aug. | Pd by Geo. Travis die Mercurie 7 ^o Augusti | | | |
| | 1650 to 5 Househoulders for y ^e table of | | | |
| | 22 Hosp ^l b. for 1 mo. aforehand - | 007 | 06 | 08 |
| | Pd for a booke for a Hosp ^l boie - - | 000 | 02 | 01 |

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|-----------|
| | Pd by Geo. Walker tayleor for mendinge their cloaths - - - - - | 000 02 00 |
| | Pd for buttons & silk to mend their cloaths withall - - - - - | 000 01 06 |
| | Pd for a booke for a Hosp ^l boie - - - | 000 00 10 |
| 6 Sep. | Pd by Geo. Travis die veneris 6 ^o Septemb. 1650 to 5 Househoulders for tablinge Hosp ^l b. 1 mo. aforehand - - - | 007 06 08 |
| 7 ^o Oct. | Pd by Geo. Travis die Saturni 5 ^o Octobr ^r 1650 to 5 Househoulders for tablinge 22 Hosp ^l b. 1 mo. aforehand - - - | 007 06 08 |
| | Pd for a Cato for a Hosp ^l b. - - - | 000 00 04 |
| | Pd y ^e Cobler for 1 Quarter more mendinge Hosp ^l bo. shoes - - - - - | 000 13 09 |
| | Pd for five Psalters & 1 Primmer for h. boyes - - - - - | 000 04 02 |
| | Pd for an Accidance for a h. boy - - - | 000 00 04 |
| 22 ^o | Pd Robte Wallworke for 22 paire of shoos at XXII ^d p. paire for hosp ^l b. - - - | 002 00 04 |
| | Pd Rob. Fleetcroft for 22 paire of stock- ings at XIII ^d p. paire for hosp ^l b. - - - | 001 05 08 |
| | Pd for Lether points for their Shooties - - - | 000 00 06 |
| Nou. 14. | Pd by Geo. Travis die Jovis 14 ^o Novemb. 1650 to 5 Househoulders for tablinge 22 Hosp ^l b. 1 mon. aforehand - - - | 007 06 08 |
| Dec. 7 ^o | Pd by Geo. Travis die Saturni 7 ^o decemb. 1650 to 5 Househoulders for tablinge 22 hosp ^l b. for 1 mo. aforehand - - - | 007 06 08 |
| | Pd for 6 accidances for them - - - | 000 02 00 |
| Summa tot. | | 064 04 11 |
| 14 ^o Decemb ^r | | |
| 1650. | Pd for an accidance for a hosp ^l b. - - - | 000 00 04 |
| 4 Jan. | Pd by Geo. Travis for 1 mo. table of y ^e hosp ^l b. aforehand - - - - - | 007 06 08 |

2^do decembr 1650.

Rec^d from my Cosen Geo. Travis a note of what disbursm^{ts} hath
beene contributed to y^e Hosp^l boyes in Manchest^r viz :—

| | | | | |
|------------------------|---|-----|----|----|
| | 61 yarges of linnen cloath; bought of Thomas Coppinge, at 10 ^d p. yarde comes | | | |
| | to - - - - - | 002 | 12 | 00 |
| | 32 yarges more of him at y ^e same time 9 ^d | | | |
| | o ^b . [$\frac{1}{2}$ ^d] p. yarde is - - - - | 001 | 05 | 04 |
| | 2 yarges q ^r and $\frac{1}{2}$ quart ^r linnen clo. cost - | 000 | 02 | 00 |
| 13 dec. | Paid Ja. Lightbowne in pte for Woollen clo. - - - - - | 013 | 03 | 10 |
| | Pd ffrancis Jepson for bandes - - - - | 000 | 10 | 06 |
| | Pd for Bee waxe - - - - - | 000 | 10 | 02 |
| | Pd Nich. Howett for threed and buttons for y ^e Childrens use at Manch. - - - | 000 | 12 | 00 |
| | Pd Geo. Walker tayleor in pte for makinge Hosp ^l b. Cloathes - - - - | 000 | 05 | 00 |
| | Pd Geo. Walker more in full for his worke | 001 | 07 | 00 |
| | Pd Alis Booker for makinge 44 Shirts for ho. bo. and for lettering y ^m - - - | 000 | 08 | 00 |
| | Pd for points & laces for the bo. cloathes & for their bandes - - - - | 000 | 01 | 00 |
| | Pd for makinge 44 bandes at 2 ^b p. band & 2 ^d p. threed - - - - - | 000 | 07 | 06 |
| | Pd by Geo. Travis for 1 mon. table of the Hosp. bo. aforehand - - - - | 007 | 06 | 08 |
| 15 Feb. | Pd Geo. Walker tayleor for mending Hosp ^l boyes cloathes - - - - - | 000 | 07 | 08 |
| | Pd for 2 yds of yellow beaz for y ^m - - - | 000 | 03 | 04 |
| 4 ^o Martii. | Pd by Geo. Travis for 1 mo. table of y ^e Hosp ^l boyes aforehand - - - - | 007 | 06 | 08 |
| 29 ^o | Pd y ^e Cobler for mendinge y ^e Hosp ^l b. shoos - - - - - | 000 | 13 | 09 |
| 4 ^o Apr. | Pd for 6 Testaments for y ^e Hosp ^l boyes | 000 | 08 | 06 |
| | Pd by Geo. Travis for 1 mon. table for the Hosp ^l boies aforehand - - - - | 007 | 06 | 08 |

E E

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|-----|----|----|-----------|
| 4 ^o May. | Pd by Geo. Travis for 1 mo. table of y ^e | | | | |
| | Hosp ^l boies aforehand | - | - | - | 007 06 08 |
| | Pd more for bookes | - | • | - | 000 08 11 |
| | | | | | <hr/> |
| | Tot... | 059 | 11 | 02 | <hr/> |
| 4 Junii, | Pd by Geo. Travis for 1 mo. table of y ^e | | | | |
| 1651. | Hosp ^l boyes aforehand | - | - | - | 007 06 08 |
| | for mendinge their cloathes | - | - | - | 000 01 06 |
| | | | | | <hr/> |

In making his last will, which is given hereafter in extenso in an appendix, Chetham omitted the previous testamentary provisions in favour of the aged poor, of bursaries at the Universities, and of the augmentation of ministers' stipends; but he extended his charities to poor boys, and founded the great public library in Manchester, and five minor libraries in the churches of Manchester and Bolton, and the chapels of Turton, Walmsley, and Gorton.

We have seen from Chetham's letter to the Speaker, that the writer was then feeling the weight of years. At the end of 1648 he says "my mortal infirmity hath confined me to my own house for this half year past, and now keeps me for the most part in my chamber." On 28 February, 1648-9, in his letter to Peter Brereton, we read "my case is this, I am almost 70 years of age, of a very weak constitution; I am not able to get on horseback, or light, but as I am helped by another, nor being on horseback to ride two miles but with extreme pain and grief, for my particular infirmity increaseth so upon me that it will shortly bring me to my grave, which being sensible of I have for this half year and more confined myself for the most part to my owne house and to my chamber."

On the day that his last will was read, signed and sealed, on the 16 December, 1651, in the lower room of his house at Clayton, Chetham was in "reasonable health of body and of very perfect mind, memory, and understanding, and talked and discoursed

sensibly and well, and was very careful to have all things punctually done touching his will."¹

His mind remained unimpaired, though his physical infirmities increased, and he passed the remainder of his days quietly at Clayton, preparing for the end, fortified by his simple faith, and trusting that by his Saviour's "only mercy and mediation for me I shall live and partake with His blessed Saints in His heavenly kingdom of those celestial joys which by His eternal goodness He has prepared for His elect, of which number, through His infinite grace and mercy, I do confidently and steadfastly believe that I am one."²

During the last months of his life he received the present of a book which his neighbour and friend, Nicholas Mosley of Ancoats Hall, dedicated to him, wherein he is addressed as follows :

"The two parts of this rational life, the practick and speculative, you may read in the history of your own life, who have well nigh by the course of nature finished both ; the clue of your own thread being almost spun out and drawing to the period set by the Prophet David, Psalm 90. Wherefore leaving those things that are behind, looking not backward at time past, you press forward to the things that are before, if by any meanes you can attain to the resurrection of the just, to that state of life which consists in beatifical vision to come, which this ensuing treatise, though in much meakness points unto; may it lay the way open before you and give you such a taste of the joyes of Heaven as may sharpen your stomach, and quicken your appetite, but not hasten your progress thither; for *serus in*

¹ Testimony of Richard Hartley, of Salford, clerk to John Lightbowne, a witness to the Allegation and Will, 4 February, 1653-4. See *Chetham MSS.*, vol. v. p. 135.

² Exordium to his will, 25 September, 1642. "Tradition says that this humane gentleman, when residing at Clayton Hall, constantly attended Gorton Chapel, coming on horseback down the fields attached to the hall farm, and thence up the old Green Lane. In winter this must have been miserable indeed, thus showing he must have been zealous for personal attendance on the public means of grace. On the south side of the old Chapel, nearly adjoining the chancel, was a small ruined gallery known as the Chetham loft. It somewhat resembled a little side parlour, appertained to Clayton Hall, and was used by the family and servants for the time being."—Higson's *Gorton Historical Recorder*, p. 65.

ælum redeas, may you enjoy a long life here, and Heaven at the last, are the hearty wishes and daily prayers of, Sir,

Your most obedient friend and servant,

Nich. Mosley."¹

Humphrey Chetham died at Clayton Hall on Tuesday night, 20 September, 1653,² in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He left to George and Edward Chetham full discretion as to the "number of mourning garments or blacks to be worn for me, and all the charges of my funeral," and they made preparations for an imposing celebration of his obsequies. It was not until Tuesday, the 11 October, that all was ready, the length of time (twenty-one days) making it necessary to embalm the body. Late in the evening of that day the funeral procession, marshalled by Thomas Wroe, of Manchester, a deputy herald, set out from Clayton, and it arrived at the Manchester Collegiate Church towards midnight. There the body was laid in the Chetham Chapel, the ceremony not being finished until the morning of the 12th, when the entry in the parish register would be made.

His funeral certificate, as follows, gives the order of the procession :—

Humphrey Chetham of Cleyton, in the County of Lancaster, Esq., dyed at Cleyton vpon the day of August, 1653,⁴ and was interred at Manchester 11 Octb., 1653. He was neuer married, and dyed without yssue, leauinge a great estate to his kindred & seuerall pious vses. He was high Sheriff of Lancashire 1635.

Arms : Quarterly, 1st & 4th Argent, a gryphon segreant Gules, within a bordure Sable, bezantee. 2nd Argent, a chevron Gules between 3 fleams Sable. 3rd Gules, a cross potent crossed Or; over all four, a crescent for difference.

¹ N. Mosley's *Ψυχосоφία*, or Natural and Divine Contemplations of the Passions and Faculties of the Soul of Man. London, 1653.

² Hibbert Ware's *Foundations*, vol. ii. p. 342; Christie's *Old Church and School Libraries* (Chetham Society, N.S., 7), p. 20 note; and *Palatine Note Book*, vol. ii. p. 233.

³ *Cheshire and Lancashire Funeral Certificates*, ed. by J. P. Rylands, Record Society, 1882, vol. vi. p. 200.

⁴ A curious mistake, showing apparently that the certificate was not written out immediately after the funeral.

Crest : A demi-gryphon segreant Gules, charged on the shoulder with a cross potent crossed, Or.

This Cote and Crest was confirmed for Humphrey Chetham, Esq., by Richard St. Geo. Norroy, K. of Armes, 1635.

The Order of the funerall.

First, 40 boys in blew Cotes, wch he did mantayne, 2 & 2 houldinge pencells.¹

then the poore men in black gownes 2 & 2, houldinge pencells in their hands.²

then some in black jackets, 2 & 2.

Clokes the trumpiter, Geo. Chetham.
Francis Procter & John Welch.
Jo. Trauis and Tho. Orrell.
Jonathan Edge. Hen. Walker.
Euan Clarke & Sam. Hollinworth.

then the hearse, adorned with Armes, and pencells carried by gent. of Cuntrey.

Rafe Coup[er] & James Trauis.
Rafe Traues & Rog. Walkden.
the penon, borne by Mr. Isack Ashton.
Mr. Dutton & Mr. Burch.
Mr. Rafe Worsley & Mr. Wiggan.
the Helme & Crest, by Mr. Rich. Lomax.
Mr. Theofulus Haworth. Mr. Mynsule.
Mr. Nicho. Cunliffe. Mr. Jo. Lightborne.
Mr. Tho. Chetham of Nuthurst, the Cote of Armes.

Mynisters.

Mr. Tymothy Smyth. Mr. Sacary Taylor.
Mr. Rich. Hollinworth. Mr. Rich. Hirrick.

¹ It appears from this that Chetham had anticipated the number of boys that were to be maintained by the feoffees of his will. They were then boarded out in various houses in Manchester and Salford. The "pencells" would be little pennons, or flags, ending in a sharp point, placed on the top of a staff or spear with the crest or motto of the deceased (*Palatine Note Book*, vol. ii. p. 233).

² These would be the recipients of his bounty. It does not appear whether provision was made for the continuance of the support of these poor men.

The Corpes, borne by Gentlemen.

Mr. James Chetham alone.

Mr. Geo. Chetham. Mr. Ed. Chetham.

Hump. James & Henry, Mr. Geo. Chetham sonnes.

James, Hump. & Edward, Mr. Edw. Chethams
sonnes.

Mr. Jo. Tildesley. Mr. Jo. Cunliffe.

Mr. Ed. Croston & Mr. Geo. Chetham, Jun.

Mr. James Leuesley & Mr. Geo. Treuis.

Gentlwomen in black, but came not to the Church.

Mr. Geo. & Mr. Ed. Chethams wiues.

Mrs. Isabell Lomox. Mrs. Jane Key.

Mrs. Cunliffe. Mrs. Tilsley.

Mrs. Leuesley. Mrs. Croston.

Mr. James & Rafe Treuis wiues.

Mrs. Chetham of Nuthurst. Mrs. Lightborne.

Rich. Coup & Jo. Treuys wiues.

Anne Rauitt [? Ravald] & Anne Treuys.

This document furnishes an interesting picture of the pompous pageantry with which the funeral of a wealthy man of the period was conducted. The extravagant feasting and extraordinary expenditure on mourning clothes which accompanied such a ceremony are illustrated by the accounts of disbursements by the executors.

An Acco. of money paid for the funerall charges of Humfrey Chetham, Esq^r., as followeth October the 17th 1653 by Mr. Geo. Chetham and Mr. Edward Chetham there apoyment and dyrection as followeth :—

Payd to Captayne Mathew Simcoke for diners the

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|----|----|
| sume of | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 015 | 18 | 00 |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|----|----|

| | | | | |
|--|---|-----|----|----|
| Pd to Richard Proudlove for bread and drinke | - | 013 | 09 | 00 |
|--|---|-----|----|----|

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|-----|----|----|
| Pd William Moore for bread and beare | - | - | 017 | 16 | 00 |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|-----|----|----|

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|-----|----|----|
| Pd Robert Hoult for bread and beare | - | - | - | 001 | 10 | 00 |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|-----|----|----|

Pd Richard Halliwell for diners at 5^s p. mese for

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|----|----|
| funerall | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 052 | 11 | 00 |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|----|----|

| | | | | | |
|--|---|---|-----|----|----|
| Pd Edward Bowker for hattes and bandes | - | - | 023 | 14 | 08 |
|--|---|---|-----|----|----|

| | | | | |
|--|---|-----|----|----|
| Pd William Hoult for bread and beare at drink | - | 002 | 08 | 00 |
| Pd Thomas Wroe in full for his herrald busenes | - | 017 | 18 | 00 |
| Pd William Sorrocold Worke at Church | - | 002 | 03 | 08 |
| Pd Mr. Scofield for blacke morneing | - | 227 | 15 | 00 |
| Pd Evan Clarke and others for Church duties | - | 004 | 03 | 00 |
| Pd Arthur Buckley for blacke for morneinge | - | 035 | 16 | 05 |
| Pd Mr. Greene for diners for the funerall | - | 051 | 00 | 00 |

October 18th 1653.

| | | | | |
|---|---|-----|----|----|
| Pd Phillipp Stamp for diners at 4 ^s p. mese | - | 022 | 18 | 06 |
| Pd Catherine Done for gloves | - | 016 | 10 | 00 |
| Pd Mr. Joseph Werden for beare | - | 009 | 00 | 00 |
| Pd John Boardman for coveringe the herse and other worke | - | 001 | 14 | 00 |
| Pd John Baguley for 2 loads malt | - | 002 | 07 | 00 |
| Pd Mr. James Lightbowne for blacke for morneinge | - | 055 | 12 | 01 |
| Pd John Lingert for makeinge herse and cofine | - | 002 | 12 | 00 |
| Pd Mr. John Johnson for blacke and ribands | - | 311 | 15 | 00 |
| Pd Mr. Minshaw for switte-meatts and imbolming | - | 111 | 10 | 00 |
| Pd Mr. Minshaw that was borrowed | - | 040 | 00 | 00 |
| Pd George Walker for makeing 74 gowns for | - | 003 | 14 | 00 |
| Pd to the poore for part of the funerall charges in Salford Hundred the sume of | - | 080 | 00 | 00 |
| Pd Raphe Travis for Trimmige of y ^e Sutts | - | 006 | 04 | 02 |
| Pd Mr. Minshall more by Mr. Edward Chethams appoyntment October 29 th 1653 | - | 025 | 00 | 00 |
| Pd to Mr. Edward Chetham Nouember 6 th 1653 About a sutte agaynst Mr. Ed. Croston | - | 007 | 10 | 0 |
| Pd Mr. Edward Chetham the 12 th of Nouember 1653 for his owne use | - | 010 | 10 | 0 |

Suma tota is... 1161 19 06¹

* Allen's Papers, No. 296 in Bundle N., Chetham Library. The original bills and receipts are among the Clowes family papers. They are given in an appendix to this volume, as the details seem to furnish materials of value with respect to the history of prices, as well as curious information concerning the names of fabrics, articles of clothing, &c. They likewise serve to identify some of the people who took part in the ceremonies.